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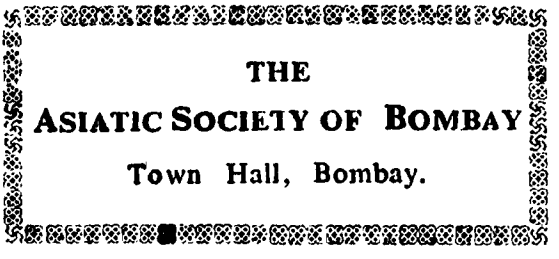

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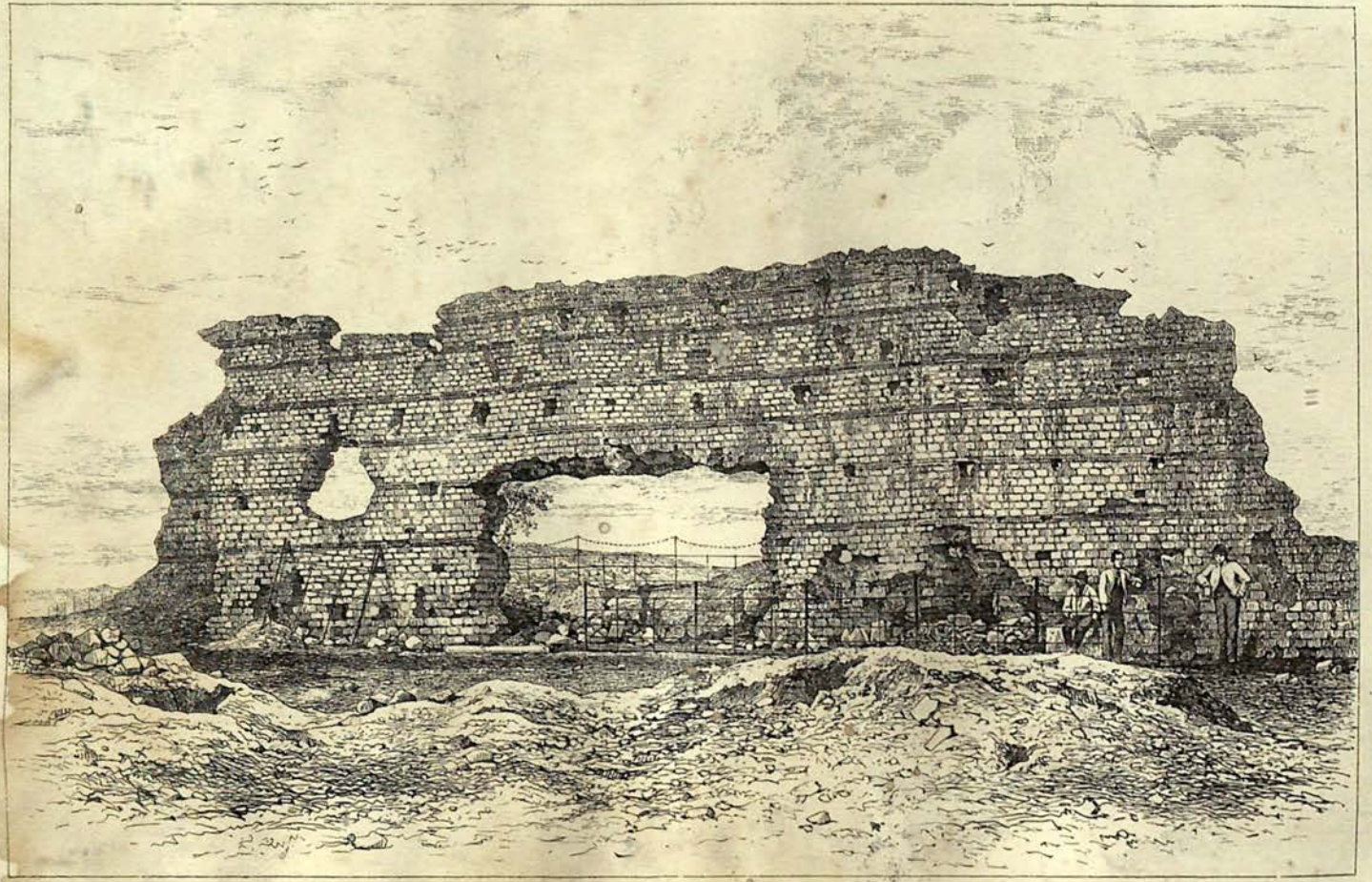
URICONIUM.



Northern side of the Old Wall, Wroxeter.

Uriconium;

A HISTORICAL ACCOUNT

OF THE

ANCIENT ROMAN CITY,

AND OF THE EXCAVATIONS MADE UPON ITS SITE AT WROXETER, IN SHROPSHIRE,

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FORMING A SKETCH OF THE CONDITION AND HISTORY OF THE WELSH BORDER DURING THE ROMAN PERIOD.

B183

BY

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T-g-22

LONDON:
LONGMANS, GREEN, & Co., PATERNOSTER ROW.
SHREWSBURY: J. O. SANDFORD.
1872.

937.06
Wri/Vol
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TO HER GRACE

THE DUCHESS OF CLEVELAND,

THE LADY OF THE TERRITORY ON WHICH THE ANCIENT CITY

OF THE ROMANS HAS LAIN BURIED SO MANY AGES,

THIS VOLUME, DESCRIPTIVE OF THE EXCAVATIONS IN SEARCH OF IT,

IS, WITH HER GRACE'S KIND PERMISSION,

VERY RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED,

BY

THE AUTHOR.

PREFACE.

It was on a Saturday, rather late in the summer of the year 1858, that I received a note from my late friend Beriah Botfield, Esq., then M.P. for Ludlow, stating that he had just arrived in London, that he was staying at the Clarendon Hotel in Bond Street, until Monday, and that he should be much pleased if I would go and see him on the following morning. Accordingly, I went to him, found him quite alone, and remained in conversation with him from two to three hours. Among a variety of other subjects, Mr. Botfield told me that he had been making some excavations on an ancient site in Northamptonshire, that he had taken a taste for excavating, and that he wished to consult with me as to where he could undertake some work of this description with the probability of a good result. I at once recommended to him the site of the Roman city of Uriconium, at Wroxeter, in

I had myself visited Wroxeter, for the first time, about two or perhaps three years previously, and had been strongly impressed with the importance of a careful exploration of the ground. After some talk on the subject with Mr. Botfield, he seemed to enter entirely into my feelings, and declared his readiness to contribute the money for excavations, on the condition that I would undertake to direct them, and he offered to put down at once the sum of a hundred and fifty pounds. I then explained to him the magnitude of the undertaking, and how little one man could do unassisted towards it, and it was agreed that the best plan to pursue would be to head a subscription. Mr. Botfield was then president of the Natural History and Antiquarian Society of Shrewsbury, and either then or very shortly afterwards he told me that it had been privately intimated to him that it was the wish of the Society to re-elect him its president for the following year, and it was then agreed between us that he would, in his quality of president, offer to contribute fifty guineas towards the expense of commencing digging so soon as fifty other gentlemen had given their names as subscribers of one guinea each, and he assured me of his readiness to subscribe fifty guineas more on the same conditions, so soon as the first subscriptions had been exhausted. Such are the simple facts of the origin of the Wroxeter excavations.

The re-election of Mr. Botfield to the presidency took place on the 11th of November, 1858. Previous to that time permission to excavate had been obtained from the proprietor of the land, his Grace the Duke of Cleveland, with his consent that all objects of antiquity found in the course of the excavations should become the property of the Museum of the Society in Shrewsbury. On the day of the election immediately after that had taken place, it was proposed by Mr. Botfield, as president, and seconded by the Earl of Powis, that a subscription should be entered into for excavating at Wroxeter by permission of his Grace the Duke of Cleveland, and that the objects discovered in the course of the excavations should be placed in the Society's Museum at Shrewsbury. A committee was at the same time appointed to direct the excavations.* A letter from the Duke was at the same time communicated to the meeting, giving his Grace's consent and authority to excavate and appropriate to the Museum the objects which might be found. The committee met first on the 18th of January, 1859, and at this meeting it was resolved that the excavations should be commenced forthwith.

* This first committee consisted of the following names, as they are entered in the minute-book of the Society:—

The Rt. Hon. the Earl of Powis.
R. A. Slaney, Esq., M.P.
Beriah Botfield, Esq., M.P.
The Rev. R. W. Eyton.
Thomas Wright, Esq., F.S.A.
Henry Johnson, Esq., M.D.
The Rev. E. Egremont.
Samuel Wood, Esq., F.S.A.

Accordingly, on the 3rd of February, three men were set to work. At this time the site of the Roman city had been very little examined, and it was principally known by a mass of Roman wall, called popularly "the Old Wall." It was my feeling that we should begin digging at this spot, not that I had at all formed any opinion as to the particular buildings we should find there, but it was about the centre of the ancient town, and I thought that the first knowledge we required was that of the depth of the Roman floors under the present surface of the ground, and this knowledge we were sure to obtain by sinking a pit by the side of the wall itself until we came to its foundation. The results of this first excavation are told fully in the third chapter of the present work.* It was found to be the partition wall between the two principal buildings of the ancient town, the Basilica and the Thermæ, or Public Baths of Uriconium. We had partially excavated the Basilica, when a misunderstanding arose with the farmer who occupied the land, which brought an interruption to our progress, and led to the filling up of the part already excavated. We were obliged to appeal to the Duke of Cleveland, who interfered at once in our favour, and not only confirmed all that had been done before, but let us the ground on which

* See p. 110 of the present volume.

Baths stood, at a small rent, to be kept permanently open. It was, indeed, very desirable that this interesting portion of the ancient city of Uriconium should be kept in a condition to be viewed and examined by visitors, just as other ruins, such as mediæval castles and abbeys, which are so thickly scattered over our border. The ground, therefore, on which the Baths stood, which was reckoned at four acres, was marked off and delivered up to us, entirely independent of the tenant of the farm.*

From this time the excavations continued in different parts of the site, for some time without interruption. The first subscription, which amounted to a hundred and fifty guineas, becoming exhausted, further subscriptions were obtained from time to time, for several years. But the great extent and importance of our work evidently required far larger funds than any sum we could reckon upon from subscriptions of this kind. I myself made an appeal to Sir George Cornewall Lewis, then Chancellor of the Exchequer, for assistance from the government, but received for answer that the treasury was not accustomed to give money for such purposes. This was not strictly true, as money had

* These four acres did not include the site of the Basilica, the excavations on which had been covered up, and which was left for future consideration. It was subsequently found that a portion of the ground let to us, amounting to about one acre, contained nothing of sufficient importance to be kept open, and it was restored to the farmer.

been given for excavations on the site of Carthage, and in several localities in the east, which were of far less interest to our national history and antiquities than those of Uriconium. I still live in the hope that we shall finally obtain the assistance of the government in this work of truly national importance.*

Under these circumstances the excavations at Wroxeter have remained interrupted for several years. The only interruption to this state of things arose from the liberality of a friend, well known for his zeal in the cause of archæological and historical science, Mr. Joseph Mayer, of Liverpool. In the autumn of the year 1867, the British Archæological Association held its annual congress at Ludlow. In anticipation of that event, Mr. Mayer, with the object both of giving an impulse to the excavations, and of clothing with additional interest the visit of the Archæological Association to Wroxeter, generously presented the sum of fifty pounds, to be employed in digging. This money was expended upon the excavations described in the eleventh chapter of the present volume. These were the last excavations that have been made on the site of Uriconium.

* Almost every country in Europe furnishes examples of the readiness with which the national government comes forward to assist with the necessary funds the exploration of an antiquarian site, though far less important in its character than that at Wroxeter. It is quite impossible to carry out such a work to any efficient extent by funds raised merely by private subscriptions.

No very long time after the commencement of the excavations, the present volume was undertaken, as a means of preserving, at least to a certain extent, the result of our discoveries. We had commenced our researches in the very middle of the ancient city, and our good fortune had thrown us among the most important of its public buildings. We were on one side of the Forum, and we have opened to a great extent the Basilica, or town-hall, the Thermæ, or public baths, and at least a market place. We have traced a few of the shops and manufactories, and some of the streets, and the walls, and have explored a considerable portion of the cemetery. I have endeavoured in these following pages to give a circumstantial account of the interest and value of our discoveries, which I believe have been far greater than those made by one series of excavations on any Roman site in our island. My book has been put together under at times unfavourable circumstances. Long delays have occurred at times in the works themselves. The author has been himself occupied with other work which often prevented him from giving to it the time and attention he could have wished; and for these and other reasons he has to regret that this volume has been delayed far longer than he ever contemplated. He hopes, however, that it will be found,

even by this imperfect work, that the excavation on the site of Roman Uriconium at Wroxeter have added considerably to our knowledge of the history and condition of our island at that early and interesting period; and we look forward to a period, not far remote, when the resumption of these works, on a still more extensive scale, will largely increase that knowledge. He cannot take leave of his reader without expressing his gratitude to three friends at least, whose intelligence and active assistance have been throughout given with great activity, cheerfulness, and effective advantage. The Rev. Edward Egremont, vicar of Wroxeter, Dr. Henry Johnson, the excellent honorary secretary of the Shropshire Natural History Society, and Samuel Wood, Esq., F.S.A. The assistance rendered by the latter gentleman has been unremitting, and always valuable; and beyond this the reader is indebted to him for his list of Roman coins found at Wroxeter, which forms one of the Appendices to the present volume.

THOMAS WRIGHT.

Sydney Street, Brompton, London,
February, 1872.

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URICONIUM.

CHAPTER I.

GENERAL VIEW OF SHROPSHIRE UNDER THE ROMANS.

We find no allusion to that district of our island which formed during the middle ages the marches, or borders, of Wales, until the middle of the first century of the Christian era. In the year 50, Ostorius Scapula was appointed prætor of Britain, and on his arrival in the island he found the country in great disorder, and many of the tribes which had submitted to the Romans in open insurrection. He immediately marched against the insurgents and the unsubdued tribes of Britons who had joined them, who were defeated without much difficulty, and they seem to have retreated toward the Welsh border, as Tacitus states that Ostorius established camps along the Severn and the Avon, to hold them in check.*

Our border was at this time occupied by three distinct British tribes, the Cornavii, or Carnabii, to the north, the Ordovices, and the Silures. As the geographer Ptolemy places both Deva, or Chester, and our Uriconium, in the territory of the Cornavii, it seems to have extended from the Mersey to the Severn, which latter river was probably, in its course

* Cinctosque castris Antonam et Sabrinam fluvios cohibere parat. *Tacit. Annal.* xii., 31. No river but the Avon will apparently answer to Antona. Another reading, Aufona, has been proposed, but I believe it is only conjectural.

westwardly towards Bridgnorth, the boundary between the Cornavii and the Ordovices. As Ptolemy mentions two Roman towns in the territory of the Ordovices, Mediolanium and Brannogenium, of which the former appears from the later Itineraries to have stood within Wales, it is believed on the banks of the Tanat, in the north of Montgomeryshire, and the Brannogenium of Ptolemy is supposed to be the same place which is called Bravinium in the Itinerary of Antoninus, and which appears to have been situated somewhere in the northern part of Herefordshire, we may consider that the southern boundary of the Ordovices, which divided them from the Silures, ran a little to the northward of Hereford, and that their territory extended a considerable distance into North Wales. The Silures, who were a larger and more powerful tribe than either of the others, extended on the south of Herefordshire, through Monmouthshire, and over the whole southern part of South Wales.

The strategic precautions of Ostorius excited the jealousy or alarm of the Iceni, at whose instance a league was formed between different British tribes, who assembled in arms, and took up a strong position to resist the Roman invaders; but they were attacked, and entirely defeated. The disaster of the Iceni, who took the lead on this occasion, discouraged the tribes of the interior, who had hitherto hesitated, but now submitted to the Romans, including probably the Cornavii and the Ordovices; for Ostorius next invaded and ravaged the territory of a tribe called by Tacitus the Cangi, who evidently held the maritime districts of North Wales, as the Roman army, in advancing through their territory, had nearly reached "the sea which looks towards the island of Ireland," when it was called back by intelligence of serious disorders which had broken out among the Brigantes.

After the suppression of this outbreak among the Brigantes, Ostorius carried his arms into the country of the Silures, who refused to submit. These, to use the words of

Tacitus, "in addition to the native fierceness of their tribe, placed great trust in the valour of Caractacus, whom the many changes and prosperous turns of fortune had advanced to a pre-eminence over the rest of the British leaders. He, skilfully availing himself of his knowledge of the country to countervail his inferiority in numbers, transferred the war into the country of the Ordovices, and, being joined by those who distrusted the peace subsisting between them, soon brought matters to a decisive issue; for he posted himself on a spot to which the approaches were as advantageous to his own party as they were embarrassing to us. He then threw up on the more accessible parts of the steep hills a sort of rampart of stone; below and in front of which was a river difficult to ford, and on the works were placed troops or soldiers. The respective leaders also went round to animate and inspirit them, in order to dispel their fears, whilst they magnified their hopes, and urged every encouragement usual on these occasions. Caractacus, rushing from one spot to another, bade them consider that the result of that day would be the beginning of new liberty to them, or of confirmed and lasting slavery; and he set before them the example of their ancestors, who had driven Cæsar the dictator out of Britain, and by whose valour they had been hitherto preserved from taxes and tributes, and their wives and children from dishonour. The people received these animating addresses with loud acclamations, engaging themselves by the most solemn rites, according to the religion of their country, never to yield to weapons or wounds. Their resolution astonished the Roman general, and the river which ran before them, together with the ramparts and the steeps which rose in their way, was everywhere formidable and covered with defenders. But the soldiers were clamorous for the attack, crying out that all difficulties may be overcome by valour; and the inferior officers, inspiring the same sentiments, gave new courage to the troops. Then Ostorius, after reconnoitering the ground to see

which parts were impenetrable and which accessible, led on the eager soldiers, and without much difficulty crossed the river. When they came to the rampart, while they fought only with missiles, our soldiers suffered the most, and numbers were slain; but when they closed their ranks, and placed their shields over them, they soon tore down the rough irregular piles of stones, and, coming to close quarters on equal ground, obliged the barbarians to fly to the hills. Thither also both the light and heavy armed soldiers followed, the former attacking with their spears, the latter in a dense body, till the Britons, who had no armour or helmets to shelter them, were thrown into disorder; and, if they made resistance to the auxiliaries, they were cut in pieces by the swords and spears of the legionaries, against whom when they turned, they were destroyed by the sabres and javelins of the auxiliaries. The victory was a brilliant one; the wife and daughter of Caractacus were taken, and his brothers submitted to the conqueror."

This is the first historical event which is recorded to have taken place within the limits or on the borders of what is now the county of Salop, and much vain and useless labour has been thrown away in the desire to fix the exact site of the battle. The description of the locality given by the ancient historian is far too vague to leave any chance of success in such an inquiry; for everybody well acquainted with the country knows how easy it would be to point out twenty different spots which would agree with the description given by Tacitus in some particulars, and how difficult it would be to point out a single place which presents similarities that might not be found elsewhere. From the tenor of the narrative, it seems probable that Caractacus had drawn the Romans into the difficult country in the western part of the territory of the Ordovices, and perhaps more to the north than the district in which antiquaries have hitherto sought the scene of his last defeat.

The defeat of Caractacus was the principal event of this campaign, and was supposed to have broken the spirit of the natives and to have restored tranquility, yet the Roman commander in Britain with the mass of his force remained in this part of the island during the ten following years. We learn from Tacitus that during this period the Romans were continually engaged in a sort of partizan warfare, the character of which may be easily understood from the nature of the ground. Enabled to assemble unobserved in the mountainous districts of South Wales, the Silures, by their obstinate bravery, gave most trouble to the conquerors, who, attacked suddenly and unexpectedly, sustained some severe reverses, though the advantage generally remained with the Romans. The historian describes these "frequent combats" on our border as taking place among the woods and marshes, wherever chance or the adventurous courage of the troops brought them on, as often the result of accident as of design, sometimes caused by the spirit of retaliation on either side, at others the result of plundering expeditions, sometimes by the orders, and frequently without the knowledge of the commanders.* This state of things prevailed along the whole line of the borders of Wales, and rendered the command of the Roman armies so arduous a task, that the proprætor Ostorius Scapula sank beneath it, and died probably on our border. Before the arrival of the new proprætor, Avitus Didius Gallus, a Roman legion, commanded by Manlius Valens, had suffered a defeat from the Silures, who, however, met with a severe chastisement in their turn. This attack appears to have been excited by one of the great parties among the Brigantes, who were at that time divided between their king Venusius and their queen Cartismandua, and engaged in civil war. The Romans, who supported the queen, were again conquerors, and the Silures and other tribes, who had espoused the party of Venusius, were left more

* Crebra hinc prælia, et sæpius in modum latrocinii; per saltus, per paludes; ut cuique sors aut virtus; temere proviso; ob iram, ob prædam; jussu, et aliquando ignaris ducibus. *Tacitus, Annal, lib.* xii., *c.* 39.

than ever exposed to the vengeance of the foreigners. The proprætor Didius was succeeded by a skilful commander named Veranius, who, towards the end of the year 59, gave place to the more celebrated Caius Suetonius Paullinus.

Veranius appears to have completed the subjection of the Silures during his short proprætorship, and Suetonius found himself at liberty to carry the Roman arms in another direction. Immediately after his arrival, he marched against the island of Anglesey, the events attending the conquest of which are so graphically described by the historian Tacitus. From this war the proprætor, with the legions who were in this country, was called away to suppress the alarming insurrection under Boadicea on the eastern side of the island. Suetonius appears to have carried with him from Wales the fourteenth and a part of the twentieth legions ; and it is at least a curious circumstance that, among the inscribed monuments which have been found in the cemetery of Uriconium, one commemorates a soldier of this fourteenth legion, especially as that legion was finally withdrawn from Britain so early as the year 69. It is probable that all the Roman towns on the borders of Wales were founded during the wars under the proprætors Ostorius, Didius, Veranius, and Suetonius.

Time has spared some records of a very interesting description which show in what manner the Romans were especially occupied during the years when we have just traced their early presence in North Wales and its border. They no sooner reached this country, than they appear to have discovered the richness of its mountains in metals, and especially in lead and copper, and vast traces of their mining operations are found in the mountains of the counties of Denbigh, Flint, Salop, and Montgomery. I believe that the lead mines now worked in the Stiperstones mountains and the hills behind them, on the site of the early Roman mines, rank among the most productive in this country and perhaps in Europe. We gather from Pliny, who died in the year 79, that lead was a valuable metal at Rome

previous to the conquest of Britain, for he says that it was obtained very laboriously in Spain and in all parts of Gaul; but in Britain, he adds, it was found on the surface—the outside skin—of the earth, so abundantly, that a law had been made to limit the quantity taken, of course in order to keep up its price in the market.* In the year 1783 a Roman pig of lead, with an inscription, was dug up in Hampshire, which is represented in the accompanying cut. The inscription on the top may be read without difficulty,† intimating that it came from

the mines in the country of the Kiangi, or Cangi, in the year when Nero was consul for the fourth time. I have already pointed out that the tribe of the Cangi must have occupied the district bordering on the northern coast of Wales, and this pig very probably came from the vast Roman mines under Castell-Caws behind Abergele, which have left that mountain almost cut into two. But it is a still more interesting circumstance, that Nero was consul for the fourth time the year before that of the insurrection of Boadicea and of the conquest of Anglesey, so that we are fully assured that the Roman mining operations in the country of the Cangi were in activity at this early period. In 1772, a similar pig of lead, bearing the name of the Emperor Vespasian, and the date of his fifth consulship, (A.D. 76), also inscribed as coming from the mines of the Cangi—DE·CEANG,—was found near the Watling Street, and others, from the same district, have been met with,

* Nigro plumbo ad fistulas lamináasque utimur, laboriosius in Hispania eruto totasque per Gallias: sed in Britannia summo terræ corio adeo large, ut lex ultro dicatur ne plus certo modo fiat. *Pliny, Hist. Nat., lib.* xxxiv., *c.* 49. The Romans called lead *plumbum nigrum*; their *plumbum album* was tin.

† This interesting monument was first engraved and described by Mr. Roach Smith, in the Journal of the British Archæological Association, vol. v., p. 227. The inscriptions on its sides have not been very satisfactorily explained.

cast in the same reign and in that of Domitian. The places in which these have generally been found show that they have been left or dropped by accident when on their way from the lead district, probably for exportation. Roman pigs of lead have been found not unfrequently in the country to the north of Bishop's Castle in Shropshire, in the parishes of Snead, More, and Shelve, which appear to have been the produce of the Roman mines on Shelve Hill, in the estates of my valued friend, the Rev. T. F. More, of Linley Hall; they all bear the name of the emperor Hadrian (A.D. 117-138), in the simple inscription, IMP. HADRIANI, AVG.—in whose reign these mines appear to have been most actively worked; or, perhaps, some change took place in the system of working the mines, in consequence of which the imperial mark was no longer impressed on the metal. There is one circumstance worthy of further remark. When we compare the statement of Pliny that the lead ore was found on the surface of the ground with the appearance which the remains of the Roman mines in North Wales as well as on the Shelve and other Shropshire hills still present, we can hardly doubt that no mines had been worked here before the Romans came, but that they found the ore literally cropping out of the rock on the hill sides, and that they followed the veins down into the mountain. The existence of these rich mineral works at so early a date explains to us why the Romans at that period assembled the mass of their forces here to protect them.

The great revolt of the Britons in the east would naturally have its effect on the British tribes in Wales and on its borders, especially when it drew away a considerable portion of the troops which held them in check, and accordingly we find this part of the country in a state of disorder during several succeeding years. The Silures, the Ordovices, and the other tribes on the border, again became troublesome, and a new civil war broke out among the Brigantes, in which the

influence of the Romans was by no means so successful as before. On the accession of Vespasian to the empire, Petilius Cerealis, an old and experienced officer in the armies in Britain, was appointed proprætor, and under him rose gradually the military influence and fame of his friend, the commander of the twentieth legion, the father-in-law of the historian Tacitus, Julius Agricola. Cerealis was chiefly occupied in reducing the Brigantes; but his successor, Julius Frontinus, finally defeated and subjected the fierce tribe of the Silures, who seem to have recovered their courage during the recent events. In the summer of the year 78, Frontinus was recalled, and Julius Agricola was appointed proprætor of Britain.

Under Frontinus, the Roman arms appear to have been less successful in North Wales than in the south. Before the arrival of the new governor, the Roman troops in the country of the Ordovices (our Shropshire) had been surprised by an insurrection of the natives, and a troop of Roman cavalry had been entirely destroyed. This success had raised the hopes of the neighbouring tribes, who only hesitated in taking part in a general revolt until they could obtain a knowledge of the character of the new proprætor, for they had already learnt by experience the necessity of acting with caution. Agricola no sooner arrived from Rome to take the command, than, contrary to all expectations, he called out the legions from their quarters, and proceeded to crush the insurrection of the Ordovices. As the enemy refused to meet him in the plains, Agricola pursued them into the mountains, and so terrible was the vengeance which he exercised upon them, that we are assured by his son-in-law that nearly the whole tribe of the Ordovices was put to the sword.* From the country of the Ordovices, Agricola hastened with his troops to the farthest entremity of Wales, and again reduced under the Roman power the isle of Anglesey, which had recovered its

* Cæsaque prope universa gente. *Tacitus, Vita Agric.*, c. —

independence after the first conqueror, Suetonius, had been so suddenly called away to quell the revolt under Boadicea. Wales and its borders were now so entirely subdued, that he was enabled during the following year to employ himself in making the Britons acquainted with the arts of peace, and that in the year 80 he could take away the troops from this part of the island to begin his still more arduous campaigns against the Caledonians in the north. When Agricola was recalled from the proprætorship in the year 84, we are assured that he left the province of Britain to his successor in a peaceful and settled condition. For many years afterwards this tranquility appears to have been disturbed only by the turbulence of the Caledonians.

The first care of the Romans, when they had reduced a territory to their subjection, was to cover it with good roads and with towns, and we have abundant evidence that these precautions were neither neglected nor delayed in the country bordering on the Welsh mountains, or, indeed, in Wales itself. So early as the time when Ptolemy compiled his Geography, which is considered to have been about the year 120 after Christ, we find along this border important towns named Deva *(Chester)*, where the twentieth legend was permanently stationed, Uriconium (which Ptolemy calls Viroconium), Mediolanium (supposed to have stood on the confines of the counties of Montgomery and Denbigh, on the banks of the Tanat, a tributary of the Severn), Branogenium, the situation of which is also rather uncertain, though it was clearly near the southern limits of Shropshire. These names indicate two principal lines of road across our county, which are more distinctly laid down about two hundred years later in the Itinerary of Antoninus. The first of these was during the middle ages the most celebrated road in our island, and was then known by the name of the Watling Street. It began at the well-known Roman port of Rutupiæ *(Richborough, in Kent)*, and proceeded thence through Canterbury, Rochester,

London, St. Albans, and by way of Dunstable and Towcester into Staffordshire, where it passed by Wall *(Etiocetum)*, and, entering Shropshire at the northern foot of Lizard Hill, proceeded thence in a straight line direct west between the Wrekin and the town of Wellington to Wroxeter. Before leaving Staffordshire the road passed a station or town named Pennocrucium, supposed to have stood on the banks of the little river Penk, and, immediately after entering Shropshire, another, named Uxaconium, supposed to have stood at Redhill, in the neighbourhood of Shiffnal. It made a slight bend southward before approaching Uriconium, which it entered from the north-east, and, passing to the centre of the town, turned there at an angle and left the town in a north-westerly direction. It continued apparently in (or nearly in) the line of the present road through Atcham to Shrewsbury, and so on by way of Ness to a Roman town called Rutunium, supposed to have been in the neighbourhood of Alberbury, where we trace the road in the name of Stretton,* and perhaps in that of Wattlesborough, which has been supposed to have some connection with its name of Watling Street. Thence the road directed its course westward into Wales, crossing the river Tanat at Mediolanium already mentioned, and proceeding by way of Cerrig-y-Druidion, near which place till lately the old Roman bridge across the river remained, and over the Snowdonian mountains to the Menai Straits.

The other great Roman road traversed Shropshire from south to north, and formed part of the line of communication between the two great military stations, Isca *(Caerleon)*, where the second legion was established, and Deva *(Chester)*, the headquarters of the twentieth. This road, in its way north from the town of Magna *(Kenchester, near Hereford)*, entered

* The Anglo-Saxons, when they came into this island, were no road-makers, but they adopted the Roman roads already existing, and gave them a name formed from that applied to them by the Romans, *stræt*, from *strata (via)*. Hence, wherever we find the syllable *strat*, or *stret*, in the composition of names of places, we may be confident that it indicates the existence there, in Anglo-Saxon times, of a road which had been constructed by the Romans.

Shropshire at Marlow, proceed a little to the west of Clungunford to Strefford bridge, where it crossed the river Ony, and where it made a slight bend to Wistanstow and onward to Little Stretton, Church Stretton, and All Stretton, which took their names from it. On leaving the Stretton valley, it passed by Longnor Green, and Frodesley, in a straight line to the Severn, which it probably crossed at some distance below Wroxeter, and so approached the city of Uriconium on the eastern bank of the river, and entered it by its southern gate. In its course from Kenchester to Wroxeter this road is also called locally the Watling Street. Till it reaches Wroxeter, its course, like that of the great Watling Street, is easily traced, but, like that also, after passing Uriconium, it is somewhat uncertain. It would seem, however, by the Itinerary of Antoninus to have continued along the great Watling Street to Rutunium and Mediolanium, and then to have made a turn to the north-east, and to have proceeded to a station named Bovium, supposed to be Bangor on the river Dee, and thence to Deva. This circuit was no doubt made for the advantage of the mining works carried on by the Romans on this part of the border.

Besides these two great military ways, a variety of roads of less magnitude or importance traversed our county in every direction. The traces of some of these "streets" have been entirely obliterated by the progress of cultivation, but others may be still traced either by the remains of the road itself or by names and marks which indicate its former existence; and these names and marks enable us to recognise, as ancient, many roads which might otherwise be easily taken for modern. As we follow the great Watling Street from Warwickshire, almost as soon as we enter Shropshire, little more than a mile to the westward of Weston-under-Lizard, we come to a cross road, running nearly from S. S. E. to N. N. W., which has been supposed, and probably with reason, to be Roman. It crosses the Watling Street at a spot named

Stoneyford, and, to the north of the great military way, proceeds by a place called King Street, is called a little farther on by the no less significant name of *Pave* Lane, and proceeds through the town of Newport. It appears to have run on thence by way of Whitchurch and Malpas, passing a locality in the direction of Holt, still called from it Stretton, and so on to Chester. The continuation of this road is traced on the south of the Watling Street, in the same line by way of Tong, and the bold entrenchments called The Walls, at the village of Chesterton, which name, as well as that of Stratford given to the place where the road here crosses the stream, prove these entrenchments to be Roman. From the direction of this road, it appears to have led, perhaps from Droitwitch, to Chester.*

Uriconium *(Wroxeter)* was, however, the great centre from which most of the Roman roads in Shropshire diverged. The main line of the Watling Street appears, as already stated, to have crossed the Tern, and the Severn at Atcham Bridge, and to have run over the site of Shrewsbury, where it made a turn to the north-west, and where also at least one branch road left it. One is supposed to have taken the route by Little Oxon, Pavement Gate, (which probably took its name from the Roman paved road,) over Stretton Heath. Another road ran from Uriconium to the southward of this by Berrington Hall, near which it is called King Street, and on by Lea Cross to Stoney Stretton, and it was perhaps continued to the Roman Station at Caer-Flôs, in Montgomeryshire. It is very probable that another road ran on the eastern side of the Stiperstones, perhaps by way of Wentnor, from Shrewsbury to Bishop's Castle; and a road appears to have run eastwardly from the latter place to join the southern Watling-Street Road at the Craven Arms, for I am informed that the peasantry have a legend that this was the first road ever made in England, and that it originally went across the island

* I believe that the ancient character of this road was first pointed out by Mr. Hartshorne, in his Salopia Antiqua, pp. 146, 263.

from sea to sea. An ancient road called the Port-way is distinctly traced along the summit of the Longmynd mountain. The line of the other principal road from Uriconium, running south under the name of the Watling-Street Road, has already been described.

There was another road of some importance leading from Uriconium to the southward, which has left some rather remarkable traces behind it. It appears to have separated from the Watling-Street Road somewhere near Pitchford, and to have run by way of Acton Burnell to Ruckley, a little beyond which place it becomes very distinct, and is popularly called, The Devil's Causeway, a name which itself indicates a Roman origin.* This road, from Ruckley to some distance to the south, was carefully examined by Mr. Hartshorne, who has given a good account of it in his Salopia Antiqua. The remains are most perfect near what is named from it, Causeway Wood, and it presents a remarkably bold appearance for two or three hundred yards from this place towards the south. "The Devil's Causeway," as described by Mr. Hartshorne, "is a way, partially at present but originally entirely, formed of large blocks of basalt, which were procured from the neighbouring sides of the Lawley. They vary in superficial size from one to two feet in length, and from eight to fifteen inches in breadth, and are disposed in their longest direction across the road. At first they were placed with extreme regularity, and had their face much more even than it now lies. From an average of several measures taken in different parts, the road seems originally to have been thirteen feet wide. It is edged with roughly hewn flat stones lying upon the surface of the soil, and varying from one to two feet in width; they are uniformly one foot in thickness, and stand

* Our word *causeway* is a mere corruption of the French *chaussée*, which was formed from the Latin *calcea, calceata*, or *calceatum*, given to such roads because they were formed of stones set in lime or cement (*calx*). As none but the Romans made such roads in old times, the use of the word in the middle ages became naturally restricted to roads which had been derived from the Romans.

so as to touch each other. The existing inequality of the face of the road may be accounted for on reasons which it is almost superfluous to mention. Such, for instance, as the peculiar nature of the stone itself with which it is paved, and its aptness speedily to disintegrate; the traffic which it has from a very lengthened period sustained; the operation of various natural causes which are still in action, such as the tendency that heavy bodies have to become imperceptibly buried below the surface of the ground, together with the *spirit of destruction* which has incessantly actuated man to carry away and break up the materials of which the road is composed." Close to the termination of this piece of the causeway, it traverses a small bridge, which Mr. Hartshorne has stated apparently good reasons for believing to be Roman. "When we look at the architecture of the bridge," he says, "we cannot fail to notice three peculiarities. And first, the form of the arch. It springs from two centres, and assumes a curve, somewhat resembling a segmental arch, but more depressed than anything Norman, being in fact broader, as we see it in Roman examples. Secondly, the voussoirs are alternately parallel-sided and cruciform, or acutely shaped at one end, as though the intention of the architect was to make them available in filling up the interstices between the regular parallel-sided voussoirs; and lastly, the whole is put together with *concrete*, as may readily be detected by taking the trouble to creep underneath the arch, and detaching a piece of it from the joints." This road evidently proceeded in a straight line through Cardington to the bold entrenched works, a Roman station of some kind or other, at Rushbury, and from thence passed over a low part of the Wenlock edge range of mountains, called Roman's Bank, and crossed Corvedale to the great entrenchments of Nordy Bank, under the Brown Clee Hill. There was, perhaps, a road from Nordy Bank down the vale towards Ludlow; I suspect that the tumuli on the Old Field (now the racecourse) near Ludlow, also indicate

a line of road across it in a direction from north-west to south-east, probably branching from the Watling-Street Road; and I believe there are traces of a Roman road over the Titterstone Clee Hill. One or two names of places, such as Stanway, (the stone road), just below Roman's Bank, and Pilgrim Lane, not very far from the large entrenchments near Lutwyche Hall called the Ditches, would lead us to suspect that a branch of the road we have been describing proceeded up Corve Dale; and Mr. Hartshorne judged, by the appearances, that at Ruckley a branch of the Devil's Causeway ran westwardly over Frodesley Park.*

We have every reason for believing that our county was traversed by many other Roman roads, besides those we have mentioned, of which a minute survey of the ground would no doubt reveal existing traces. These lines of road, whether large or small, are usually marked by the residences of their living, and by the burial-places of their dead, inhabitants,—their earthworks, their villas, and their barrows or tumuli. Of the first of these three classes of monuments, it is necessary to speak with considerable caution, inasmuch as we know that not only the Romans, but the Anglo-Saxons after them, and people of still later date, constructed enclosures of earthen entrenchments, in a great variety of forms, and for an equally great variety of purposes. The earthen vallum of enclosure was the only durable part of the manor house of the Saxon chieftain; it was probably employed, both among Romans and Saxons, as a permanent place of shelter for cattle, or for workmen, and no doubt in the mineral districts it often enclosed the space where some of the operations of preparing the ore for the furnace were carried on; while, among other purposes, a space on the top of a hill surrounded by an entrenchment has often been found to be a place of burial. It would, therefore, be very rash to assume that any earthwork was Roman, unless we had some well ascertained fact to

* Hartshorne's Salopia Antiqua, pp. 134-148.

support such an opinion. It would not be safe, even, to take an earthwork for Roman because it stands by the side of a known Roman road, though in such case it would probably not be older than the road; but the Anglo-Saxons continued to use the roads of the Romans, and would often build their mansions or raise intrenchments for other purposes in close approximation to them, as the Normans afterwards built castles in similar positions. We have, nevertheless, in Shropshire, a considerable number of large and very interesting monuments of this description which undoubtedly belonged to the Romans, and we shall find them usually scattered along the lines of the Roman roads. Thus, on the line of the road which I have spoken of as crossing the Watling Street soon after it enters the county from Staffordshire, and which has been supposed to run from Droitwich or Worcester to Chester, is the strong position called The Walls, the Roman character of which is declared by the name of Chesterton,* given to the village adjoining. "The Walls" is an inclosure of upwards of twenty acres, on the summit of a hill, the sides of which form, on every side but the north-east, a nearly perpendicular precipice of the height of fifty or sixty yards, surrounded at the top by an intrenchment. At the foot it is almost surrounded by a stream of water. Like the hill itself, the form of the inclosure is irregular; and it is rather remarkable that no antiquities are known to have been found within it.

Along the line of the Watling Street, in our way to Uriconium, we find few of these intrenched inclosures, partly perhaps because there is a scarcity of hills; and the extensive inclosure on the summit of the Wrekin, where there is at least one tumulus, may probably have been a cemetery. We have seen that two great intrenched inclosures, Rushbury and

* When the Anglo-Saxons settled here, they probably found the Roman inhabitants usually giving the name of *castrum* to their walled towns and stations, and they adopted the Roman word merely moulding it down in their own pronunciation into *ceaster*, which the change of the language has reduced to *chester* or *cester*, (the Welsh in the same way made *caer* out of the Latin word.) Whenever we find *chester* or *cester* in the name of a place in England, we may be certain that it indicates Roman occupation.

Nordy Bank, stood on the line of road called the Devil's Causeway, and the name of the village of Wall-under-Heywood, a short distance from Rushbury, probably implies the former existence of another. Rushbury contains an area of a hundred and forty-five feet by a hundred and thirty-one, so that it is almost a square with its corners rounded. It has been surrounded by a very lofty vallum, and by a fosse twenty-three feet wide. Roman antiquities are said to have been found on this site, but appear not to have been preserved. Nordy Bank, which also may be described as a parallelogram with rounded corners, is larger and in more perfect preservation ; for it is two hundred and ten paces long from east to west, by a hundred and forty-four in width. It is surrounded by a high vallum, with a single fosse. It occupies a position which gives it the command of the rich district of Corve Dale. Above it to the east rises the Brown Clee Hill, the two lofty summits of which, called Abdon-Burf and Clee-Burf (no doubt another form of the same word as *burg* and *bury*) have each an area inclosed in a wall of stones, filled with small circles and tumuli, so that they were doubtless cemeteries. The highest point of the Titterstone Clee Hill has a similar inclosure. Caynham Camp, near Ludlow, is on the line of road I have supposed to have run across the Old Field, perhaps to Worcester and Droitwich.

A considerable portion of the southern Watling Street, as it passes through the Stretton Valley, is bordered on each side by lofty hills, several of which are crowned with intrenchments. The most remarkable of these and the loftiest is Caer-Caradoc, which stands at the northern entrance to the valley, and has an area doubly intrenched at the top. On the opposite side of the valley, on one of the lower slopes of the Longmynd, is an intrenchment called Bodbury Ring ; and on the same side of the Watling-Street road, but on the other side of Church Stretton, is another of a more oblong form, called Brockhurst Castle, which also stands at the foot of the

hills, close to the modern railway. At the southern entrance of the valley are two smaller intrenchments, known each by the same name of Castle Ring; and on the other side of the Watling Street, the hill which forms the entrance to the vale of Onibury is crowned by a very large and strongly intrenched area known as Norton Camp. It is nearly square. A smaller oval intrenchment occupies the summit of Burrow Hill on the opposite side of this rather wide valley. I hesitate to call them camps, as it appears to me that it would be assuming more than we have any right to assume; and I have not thought it necessary to enter here into a detailed account of their several forms and arrangements, as I believe that those were regulated only by convenience (which might arise from the form of the ground) and by the particular purposes for which they were intended. As the Watling Street continues its way southward by Clungunford and Leintwardine, it passes Brandon Camp, not far from which there is a camp at Downton. Brandon, which is a fine work and beautifully situated just within the borders of Herefordshire, has been considered to be the Bravinium of the Romans. But this location is at least doubtful.

A branch road, already mentioned, left the main road somewhere near the site of the modern Craven Arms, and ran westward into Wales. It, or a sub-branch, probably ran along the valley of the Clun, which is bordered by hills, some of them crowned by earthworks. At the opening of this valley, above the village of Hopesay, are the extensive intrenchments known by the name of Burrow Hill. Farther on, on the same (northern) side of the valley, are the still more remarkable works called the Bury Ditches. This latter is a circular inclosure, of considerable extent, surrounded by a triple fosse, and, by its lofty and isolated position, commanding a view over a great extent of country. A few years ago, the keeper, in uncarthing foxes, met with the stone foundations of buildings in the middle of the inclosed area, which may

have been the site of the Saxon hall, for I confess that the appearance of these Bury Ditches impresses me strongly with the notion of the manor-house of some great Anglo-Saxon landlord. Names of hills on the other side of the valley, such as Clun-*bury*, seem also to indicate the former existence of other intrenchments. On the north side, these monuments are continued along the hill tops. There is a camp, as it is called, just above the town of Clun, to the north-west, and a little farther, just beyond the line of Offa's Dyke, we meet with a still finer intrenchment at Newcastle. There is another similar work opposite to it, on the other side of the narrow valley through which the Clun river runs, with several tumuli in the neighbourhood. The hilly country to the south of Clun is covered with ancient remains. Among these, the most important is the very bold intrenched hill known commonly by the name of the Caer Ditches, and called also the Caer-Caradoc, which some antiquaries have supposed, without much reason, to have been the scene of the last defeat of Caractacus. Among the hills to the south-eastward of Clun is a place which is popularly believed to have been the site of an ancient city. We are here close upon the borders of Wales.

As we turn along the line of the border northwardly, we meet with numerous similar works, the object of which it would be very hazardous to assume. It is no part of my plan to follow them into Wales, but there is one crowning a hill about half a mile to the westward of the river Teme, which here forms the boundary between England and Wales, and a little farther north we have a still more striking and somewhat circular inclosure called in the Ordnance Map, Castle Bryn Amlwg, or Castle Cefn Fron. From hence we may turn back eastwardly to Caer-din-Ring, the name as well as the character of which appear to me to be Roman—for the Welsh word *Caer* is itself probably a mere corruption from the Roman *castrum*. At Knuck, in a line between these and Bishop's

Castle, we have two "camps," about a mile apart; and some three miles to the eastward of Bishop's Castle, we meet with a larger monument of this description, oval in form, called Billing's Ring. There is another Caer-Din, nearly four miles to the N. N. E. of the former; and like it of a quadrangular shape; and about a mile farther we find a camp at Pentre. Still proceeding in a north-easterly direction, we successively find similar inclosures at the Roveries, between Snead and Linley; at the Castle Ring (a not uncommon name in these parts for such monuments) among the hills between Churchstoke and Hyssington; at the Castle Hill, in the latter parish; on the hills to the east of Linley Park; at Ritton Castle, in the parish of Shelve; on the hills opposite Mr. More's Roman Gravel Mine; and at the Castle Ring, under the northern brow of the Stiperstones. On the eastern side of the Stiperstones, we have several very fine examples of these intrenched inclosures, such as those at Callow Hill, near Minsterley, and on Pontesford Hill. Crossing the valley of the Rea, we see first an intrenched camp at Mill Bank, near Betchfield; and there is a much larger one on the summit of the Long Mountain, called Caer-Digol, and known also as the Beacon Ring, and a smaller one on its western declivity. Another occurs on the top of the Breiddin mountains, called Cefn-y-Castell, and there are one or two scattered over the valley to the westward. We trace several of them at or in the neighbourhood of Llanymynech; and in general they are most numerous in the mining districts, with the works of which we are therefore justified in supposing them to have some connection. They occur much less frequently in the low country to the eastward, though there is a fine monument of this description, named Bury Walls, near Hawkstone; but the largest and most striking of them all is that of Old Oswestry, near the north-western extremity of the county.

I am inclined here to venture a suggestion with regard to this latter locality. As it has been already intimated, the

course of the road and the sites of the stations along the main line of the Watling Street after passing Uriconium are very uncertain. There can be little doubt that the road went from Wroxeter to Shrewsbury, which has been conjectured by some antiquaries to have occupied the site of Rutunium itself, the only objection to which is, the distance given in the Itinerary of Antoninus, and we know that the Roman numerals were very liable to be copied erroneously by the old scribes, who were not acquainted with the facts. Whenever we have any remaining indications of a Roman town or station answering to one found in the Itinerary, it is far better evidence than the distances printed from the manuscripts. Rutunium was perhaps a mere postal station, where refreshments and changes of horses might be had, and it is rather in favour of the conjecture that there were certainly several Roman roads branching out from this point. I am informed, moreover, by my friend Mr. Henry Pidgeon, of Shrewsbury, one of the most zealous of Shropshire antiquaries, that Roman remains, especially coins, have been found in Shrewsbury, one of Domitian, on the site of his own house in the High Street. But Mediolanium, the next place, must have been a place of some importance. It is coupled by Ptolemy with Uriconium as one of the two towns of the Ordovices at that early period, and it can hardly have failed to leave some traces behind it. Now, Old Oswestry would answer very well to Mediolanium, both in its distance from Uriconium and in its position between Rutunium and Bovium on the way to Chester. It has usually been placed farther within Wales, somewhere on the banks of the river Tanad, chiefly on the authority of Richard of Cirencester, whom I fear we must abandon as deserving of no authority whatever.* Old Oswestry has certainly been a town of some importance. It is an inclosure forming an oblong parallelogram of upwards of fifteen acres, and

* I once thought better of Richard of Cirencester than I do now, for I must confess that the more I read him, the stronger becomes the conviction that the work which passes under his name is a modern fabrication.

surrounded by very strong intrenchments, which are, moreover, doubled in number on the weaker side, where there are five lines of circumvallation. Two trenches are continued round the whole circuit. No scientific researches have ever been made within the interior of this inclosure, and few records have been preserved of accidental discoveries; but among these latter were a well, a pavement, and "pieces of iron like armour," all which indicate a Roman origin. There are other reasons for believing that this may have been an important position of the Romans. One of the earlier and great Anglo-Saxon battles, that of Maserfeld, between Oswald, the Christian king of the Northumbrians, on one side, and the Welsh and the pagan king of the Mercians on the other, was fought on the 5th of August, 642, according to all traditions in the neighbourhood of this town. The place took its modern name, Oswaldes-treo, or the tree of Oswald, from the name of the Northumbrian king, who was slain here. It is probable that the Northumbrian army had advanced by the ancient Roman road from Chester to Uriconium, and the Welsh had perhaps advanced by the branch Roman road, which left this road to the westward in the neighbourhood of Llanymynech, to join the Mercians.* Old Oswestry is called in Welsh Hen Dinas, the Old City.

There is less regularity in the position of the Roman villas than in that of most of the other monuments of that people. Their sites were chosen no doubt, as in modern gentlemen's houses, for the position and character of the ground, the proximity of water, and the scenery, as well as for circumstances of convenience and utility, which were more or less peculiar to each particular case. As they most frequently stood on fertile ground, valuable to the agriculturist, all traces of them have in a majority of cases been swept away by the operations of the farmer at a period when no

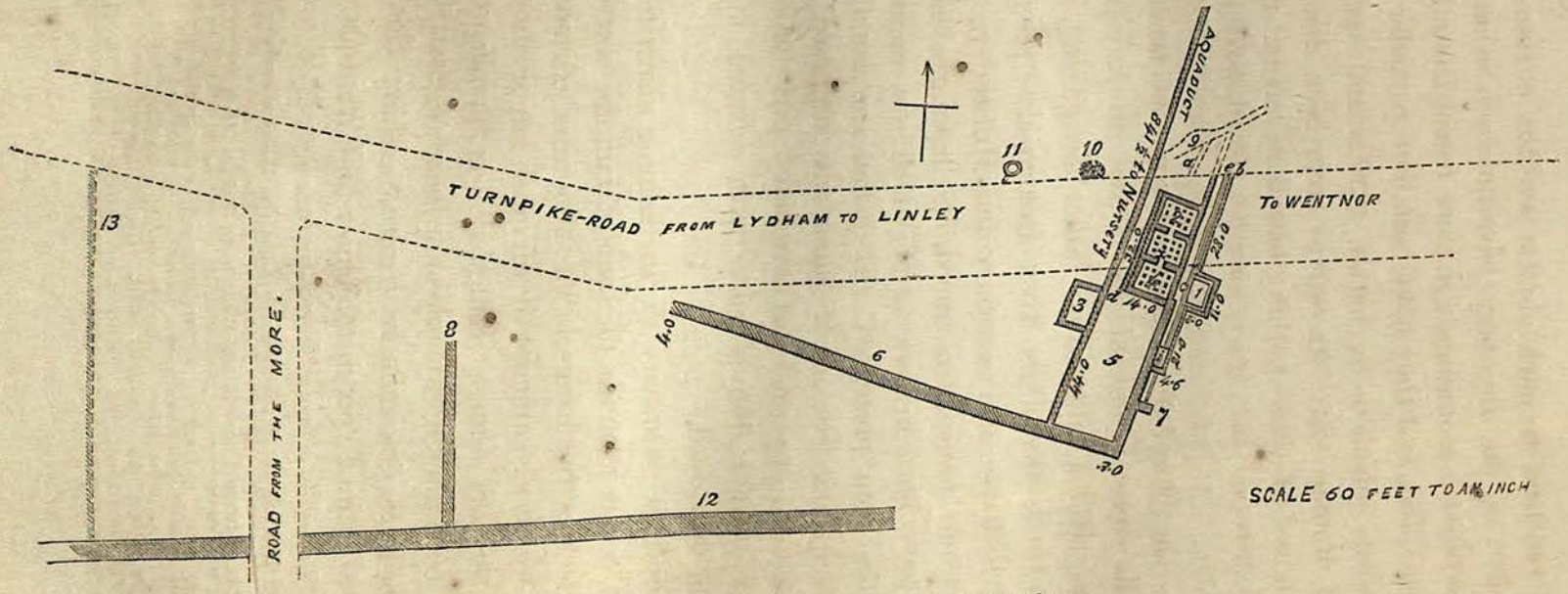
* Bede gives a brief account of this battle, lib. iii. c. 9, but says nothing to enable us to identify the site.

attention was paid to such objects, and the circumstances, or even the fact of the discovery, have not been recorded. The discoveries of such monuments in more recent times have been usually accidental, and they have been but partially observed. In Shropshire, which is a highly agricultural county, the number of Roman villas known to have been discovered is very small, and of these nothing had been left but fragments which had escaped the spade or the ploughshare of earlier times.

Towards the close of the last century, the remains of a Roman villa were found at Lea Cross, in the parish of Pontesbury. It was situated on rather low ground, in a rich country, on the banks of the river Rea, in close proximity to the mining districts of Pontesbury and Minsterley. Several rooms appear to have been traced, one having a handsome tessellated pavement, a drawing of which was made at the time, and has been preserved. They had the usual accompaniments of hypocausts, one of which was supposed to have been a bath, as it appeared to have had a pipe for carrying off water. I believe the remains were covered in again, without being destroyed.*

At the southern extremity of the mining district of the Stiperstones, in the grounds of Linley Hall, the seat of Mr. More, recent discoveries have shewn the former existence of a Roman villa, which was apparently of much larger dimensions than that at the Lea Cross. Linley Hall is approached from the high road between Shrewsbury and Bishop's Castle by an avenue of oak trees, one mile in length, reaching from that road to the road from Lydham to Linley and Wentnor, which

* The following brief account of this discovery is given in the Gentleman's Magazine, for 1793, part ii. p. 1144: "A beautiful tessellated floor was lately discovered on the farm of Mr. Warter, at the Lea, between Hanwood and Pontesbury, (Salop). It is between thirteen and fourteen feet square, consisting of small tessellæ of red brick, whitish marble, and brown, black, and gray stone; and appears to have belonged to the bathing apartments of an elegant Roman villa; mortar floors having been found near it, three feet below its level, with the foundation of such brick pillars as usually supported the floor of the sudatory. Numerous fragments of square flues or tunnels of tile, furred within with smoke, are also found; with some pieces of leaden pipe, charred wood, pottery of blackish earth, and a channel or gutter to carry off water, corresponding with the descent of the ground."



Plan of Remains of a Roman Villa, at Linley Hall, Salop.

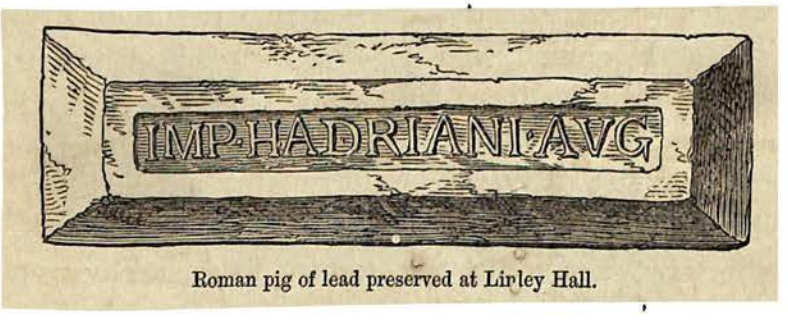
forms the southern boundary of Linley Park. Just within the avenue, but close to this latter road, remains of masonry had been discovered some years ago, and from the fragments of brick it was suspected to be Roman, but no further examination took place until the August of 1856, when, during a visit I made to Linley Hall, Mr. More resolved to make further excavations on the spot. The immediate result was to lay open a small room, with a hypocaust, marked 4 in the accompanying plan. A portion of the floor, consisting of a thick mass of cement formed of lime and pounded bricks, with a smooth upper surface, remained on the eastern side of this room, supported on rude square columns of red sandstone. The rest of the floor had been destroyed. There was a division in the hypocaust, and the columns of the western side were formed, in the usual manner, of layers of the square flat Roman bricks. The northern corner of this room, as represented on the plan, went a little distance under the road, and two other small rooms adjoining, *x* and 2, were subsequently explored under the road, reaching nearly to the wall of the park. Both had hypocausts, with columns of Roman tiles, but the floors were gone. The eastern wall of these rooms was continued southwardly, inclining towards the west, till it made a corner with another wall, 6, running westwardly, at right angles to the former. The first of these walls was evidently the eastern boundary of this mass of buildings, and along its outer side ran a well-made and well-preserved stone drain, *c*, bordered by what appears to have been a channel, *b*, formed of curiously constructed flue-tiles. The wall marked 6 is three feet in thickness. Within the rooms I have been describing was found an aqueduct, *d*, running parallel to the eastern wall of the building, which was traced by uncovering at different spots up to Linley Hall, a distance of nearly eight hundred and fifty feet. It is formed of a wall of masonry, with a channel upon it, the latter formed of concrete, and was no doubt intended to carry water from the

rather copious springs just above Linley to the buildings below in which it terminates. Near the place where the last traces of this aqueduct were met with, opposite Linley Hall, there was from time immemorial a large pond, which Mr. More has recently enlarged into a lake, and it was suspected that this might have been originally a Roman reservoir to supply the aqueduct, but, when it was cleared away in forming the lake, no traces of Roman work were found.

A hedge divides the avenue in which the first discoveries of this villa were made from a large field which borders on the Lydham road, and extends to another road running from the latter to the village of the More. Walls belonging to the buildings of this villa were found all across this field, and to some distance in the field on the other side of the More road, but the whole had been so completely broken up, and the remains were so imperfect, that it seemed impossible, except perhaps with very great labour and by digging the whole field, to trace any definite plan. One wall, 12, much thicker than the others, ran across the field, almost direct east and west, and may be distinctly traced across the More road by a rising in the ground, and to a considerable distance into the next field. This there can be no doubt was the southern boundary wall of the whole of this range of buildings. It is rather remarkable that this wall runs at an angle to the other buildings, as is seen in the plan. A transverse wall, 13, is distinctly traceable in the second field and across the Lydham road into the park; and another transverse wall, 8, was found in the first field. Probably a strong transverse wall at some distance to the east of the avenue, formed the eastern boundary wall of a great square; and Mr. More found another strong wall crossing the valley a little behind Linley Hall, and running east and west, and therefore parallel to the wall 12, which may have been a northern boundary, so that the whole would have formed an immense square, including the site of Linley Hall, and nearly the whole of

the park in front. Mr. More caused the ground to be opened in several places in the middle of this park, and in almost every instance came to a level and artificially smoothed floor of hard gravel, as though there had been a very extensive interior court. Remains of buildings had been found within the park, at 10 in the plan, but were broken up in forming the wall of the park, and the earth is still filled with fragments. At 11, a well appeared to have once existed.

From the extent of this villa, (if it may be called a villa, for it was large enough for a little town), we can hardly doubt that it had some connection with the extensive lead mines in the mountains behind, perhaps it was the residence of some one who had the command of them. The aqueduct, and the evident care to secure a large supply of water, would seem to shew that some of the operations of preparing the metal may have been carried on here, and one or two pigs of lead, inscribed with the name of the emperor Hadrian, have been found in the country at a short distance to the west. One of them, preserved by Mr. More at Linley Hall, is represented

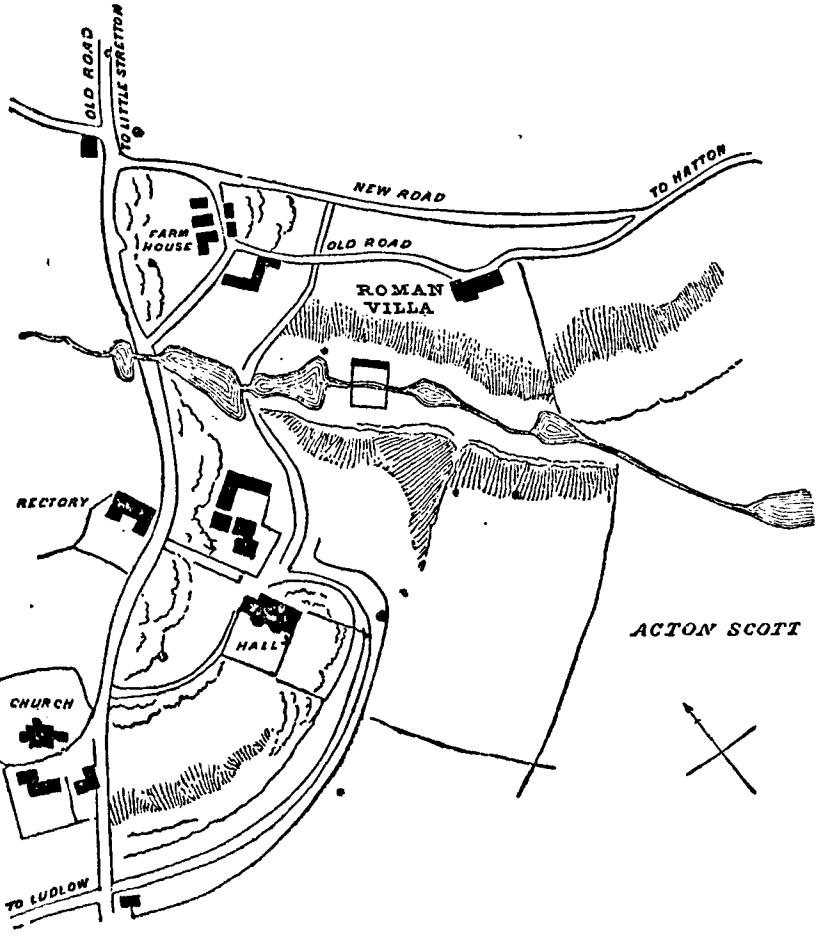


Roman pig of lead preserved at Linley Hall.

in the accompanying cut; another, found in the parish of Snead, is now in the rich museum of Mr. Mayer, at Liverpool. The hypocausts in the south-eastern corner, (2, *x*, 4,) evidently belong to rooms which required at times to be warmed and made comfortable; but I suspect that the superior domestic buildings lay in the ground not yet explored on the western side of the park. To any one who has visited Linley Hall, it is unnecessary to say that the situation of this Roman villa

was one of the most beautiful that can be imagined. Occupying an elevated bank, backed by lofty mountains, it commands in front an extensive view over the vales of Bishop's Castle and Montgomery, bounded by a long circuit of hills, with the extensive intrenchments of the Bury Ditches boldly prominent to the south. Close to it, on the eastern side, runs a beautiful little mountain stream, the head of the small river Oney, which joins the Teme at Bromfield, a short distance above Ludlow.

A Roman villa of smaller extent has been discovered far to the eastward of this district, and near to the Watling Street,

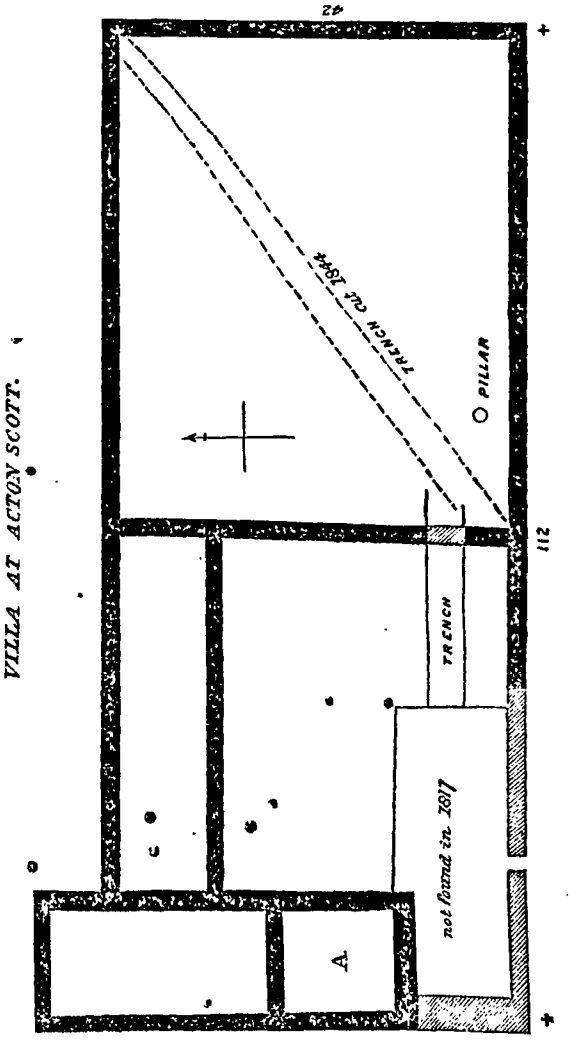


or Roman road running from Uriconium to Bravinium and Magna. Acton Scott, where stands the beautiful seat of Mrs.

Stackhouse Acton, is distant about three-quarters of a mile to the east of the Watling Street, and lies on an old road leading from the Watling Street at Marsh Brook, by way of Halston and Ticklerton, to Wall, which latter place is close upon the Roman road already described as running by Rushbury to Nordy Bank, and probably took its name from the remains of some Roman building which once stood there. The position of Acton Scott will be best understood by the map on the preceding page. Two alterations in this old road, where it passed through the parish of Acton Scott, as I am informed by Mrs. Acton, brought to light no traces of a paved way such as would have proved at once its Roman origin, but one of them, made in 1817, led to the discovery of a Roman villa, which bordered upon the road, and therefore affords very strong evidence of its antiquity. This villa stood on a bank which slopes towards the south-west down to a small stream. The labourers first came upon a floor of concrete, marked A in the annexed plan, inclosed by walls, which were broken up and used in making the new road. Other rooms and walls were discovered in the course of the work, forming the plan indicated by the dark lines in the accompanying cut. Mrs. Acton was fortunately made acquainted with the discovery in time to examine and make accurate drawings of the remains, or it also might have been allowed to pass unheeded.* These walls, as then explored, formed an oblong square of 112 feet by 42, but it was probably only a portion of a larger building. The character of the remains were not at this time suspected, and even their exact site had become forgotten, when, in the dry summer of 1844, the hollow lines where the foundations had been removed were traced by the scantiness of the herbage, and Mrs. Acton employed some labourers on a more careful excavation. They came upon the floor which had been before

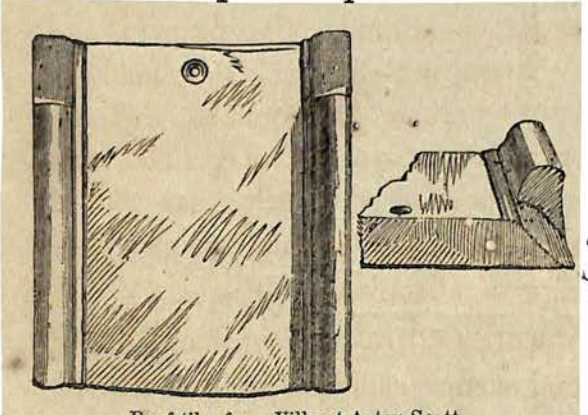
* A very interesting account of the discoveries on this site, drawn up by Mrs. Acton, and communicated to the Society of Antiquaries of London by the late Dean of Hereford, was printed in the Archæologia, vol. xxxi. from which entirely I take my account, and I have to thank the Council of the Society for the loan of the wood-cuts which illustrated it.

seen, (A). "It consisted of three layers of very hard concrete, varying slightly in composition, the lower one consisting chiefly of lime, while the upper one contained pebbles and a good deal of pounded brick. Upon this was laid a floor of very thin flags; the dimensions were 13 feet by 10, and it was nearly two feet in thickness. Several small apartments were



discovered shortly afterwards, containing piers formed of tiles varying from a foot to seven inches in diameter; in some instances there was a base-tile of large dimensions. Only one pier was found of the height of the stone walls (20 inches),

and that was formed of nine tiles. The larger piers were made of tiles, many of which had been broken into fragments before they had been placed in their present position;* their broken edges had been rudely fitted; some were plain, others had ribs at the edge, and others had patterns on them. The floors on which the pillars rested were formed of a thin layer of fine-grained concrete." In the hypocausts and in their flues, much soot and fragments of charred wood were found; and in various places were scattered the remains of the painted stucco of the walls, and of various building materials. "The fragments of decorative painting showed that the ground had been of a white or very light colour; upon this panels appear to have been marked out by lines of dingy purple and red; the ornaments being round spots arranged by fours and fives, pyramidically. On one fragment was painted the head of a bird with a branch in the beak, indicating that ornamental designs had been painted on some of the panels." The roof of this villa was probably formed of tiles, as some of the flanged roofing tiles were met with, of which a perfect specimen and a fragment are shewn in the accompanying cut. Many other tiles used for different purposes were also found scattered about, and on some of them "were impressions of the nailed caligæ of the soldiers, which must have been made previously to the tiles having been baked; and also of the feet of a dog and other animals. A few fragments of black, red, and light-brown pottery, together with bones and oyster



Roof-tiles from Villa at Acton Scott.

* This would seem to show that they had to be brought from a distance, and that it would require time and expence to replace the broken ones by new whole ones.

shells, were also discovered." In the largest room, that to the east, a baluster-shaped pillar, 3 feet 1 inch in height, made of sandstone grit, lay on the floor. At the outside of the western wall of this place, near the southern corner of the room A, appeared "some remains of a pavement formed of small angular pebbles, covered with soot, but no tessellæ or indications of any other sort of floor than those already described could be discovered in any part of the building." In the southern part of the two large rooms "there was a trench four feet wide, and two feet deeper than the floor of the hypocausts [which latter occupied the part marked in the plan as not found in 1817.] The bottom was laid with large pieces of half-burnt limestone, and, above, it was filled with large pebbles to the level of the other floors. No fragments of lime, or broken tiles, which abounded everywhere else, were found in this trench; only one bit of thick ground glass. It was cleared out to the extent of eight yards, but its termination was not ascertained." This trench had perhaps belonged to the villa in some earlier state, and been filled up when alterations were made in its arrangements; for in excavating and thus dissecting the Roman villas in our island, we often discover great changes which have been made in them at different periods by their proprietors, and not unfrequently a new floor laid over an old one. The most curious discovery, however, made in this villa, was that of six Greek coins, found in the soil, the latest of which was of the early part of the reign of Claudius (A.D. 41-54.)* As this was the first well-authenticated instance of the discovery of Greek coins in England, some suspicions were at the time thrown on Mrs. Acton's statement, and it was suggested that the coins might have been brought thither surreptitiously; but she urges that "the labourers employed had all worked for

* These coins, which are now deposited in the British Museum, were of Neapolis, struck 300-250 B.C.; of Andros, struck 300-250 B.C.; of Smyrna, struck 150-100 B.C.; of Egypt, of Antiochus VIII. and his mother Cleopatra, struck about 70 B.C.; of Smyrna, struck during the reign of Claudius; and of Parium in Mysia, with inscriptions in Latin; all in brass.

me for more than twenty years ; they had nothing to gain by imposition, and from the long-established custom of bringing all curiosities to me, I am sure, if one of them had possessed such coins, I should have had them before. I have no suspicion that they could have been placed where they were found by any other person." I have since heard from Mrs. Acton's own lips her confident belief that no trick could have been played with these coins, and I myself fully believe it. Greek inscriptions have been found in Britain, and why not Greek coins? They may perhaps be taken as evidence of the early date at which the Roman settlers in Britain began to erect country villas; some one of the first inhabitants of that at Acton Scott,—perhaps the individual who erected it, at a time when men remembered Caractacus, and the struggles with the Silurians and the Ordovices, and the war of Boadicea,—may have come from Greece and brought with him the coinage which was current in the eastern Archipelago, and left these six coins in the earth as memorials to his successors who lived on the same lands after a lapse of nearly nineteen centuries.

If we find traces of villas in our county at so early a period, it can hardly be doubted that Shropshire was thickly scattered with such buildings, although at present no more than the three described above have been examined. There appears to have been a Roman villa on the road between Wroxeter (Uriconium) and Shrewsbury, near the river Tern. At the close of the last century, sepulchral remains of an interesting character were discovered near Tern Bridge, which belonged without doubt to a wealthy family, and had every appearance of forming part of the private cemetery of a villa; for generally each villa had its family cemetery, sometimes within the walls of the building, and we rarely meet with such an interment as was found on this occasion apart from a villa or Roman settlement of some description. Some of the

objects found are still preserved at Attingham.* Here and there, perhaps, local names also indicate the recollections or discoveries of the remains of Roman villas in former times. There is, I believe, no known locality in Shropshire bearing the name of Cold Harbour, or Cold Arbour, (in the dialect of the borders of Wales the *h* is often dropped,) which almost invariably indicates the site of a Roman building ;† but Cound Arbour, near Berrington, is probably a corruption of the same name. The name of Cold-Stocking, attached to a place near Stokesay, close to the Watling Street, may have a similar meaning ; and there are other places to the names of which *cold* is thus attached, all of which appear to be ancient sites, as Cold Hill, near Shelve, Cold Oak, Cold Hatton, near Wellington, Cold Green, Cold Weston, near Ludlow, and Coldwell. The name of Yarchester occurs near the village of Harley, on the road from Shrewsbury to Wenlock, which most probably points out the site of a considerable Roman villa, for this word *chester* often marks the site of villas of some importance, as in the case of Woodchester, in Gloucestershire ; and I am told that there have been met with here traces of the remains underground

* The following account of this discovery is preserved in a manuscript of collections on Shropshire Antiquities, now in the Library of the British Museum, MS. Addit. No. 21,011, fol. 38, &c. "On Feb. 8th, 1798. Between Tern Bridge and the river Severn, at Attingham, in a ploughed field, a little more than a plough depth, they came to an enclosure of large stones, within which were ranged three large glass urns of very elegant workmanship, one large earthen urn, and two smaller ones of fine red earth. Each of the urns had one handle, and the handles of the glass urns are elegantly ribbed. The glass urns were about 12 inches high, and 10 in diameter. The large earthen urn was so much broken, that its dimensions could not be ascertained (it was probably an amphora); but on its handle are stamped the letters SPAH. The small urns were about 9 inches high. Within the glass urns were burnt bones and fine mould, and in each a fine glass lachrymatory of the same material as the urns, which are a most beautiful light green. Near one of them was part of a jaw-bone, an earthen lamp, and a few Roman coins of the lower empire, of little value. The whole were covered with large flat stones, covered with a quantity of coarse rock-stone."

† I shall perhaps be excused for repeating here the explanation of this word, which I have offered in my "History of Domestic Manners and Sentiments in England during the Middle Ages," p. 76. "It seems not improbable, also, that the ruins of Roman villas and small stations, which stood by the sides of roads, were often roughly repaired or modified, so as to furnish a temporary shelter for travellers who carried provisions, &c. with them, and could, therefore, lodge themselves without depending upon the assistance of others. A shelter of this kind—from its consisting of bare walls, a mere shelter against the inclemency of the storm—might be termed a *ceald-hereberga* (cold-harbour), and this would account for the great number of places in different parts of England which bear this name, and which are almost always on Roman sites and near old roads. The explanation is supported by the circumstance that the name is found among the Teutonic nations on the continent—the German *kaltern-herberg*, borne by some inns at the present day."

of very extensive buildings, and the surface earth of the field in which they occur is thickly intermixed with fragments of Roman bricks and pottery. Even the names of fields are sometimes expressive. In some landed property at Wentnor, recently advertised for sale, one of the fields of which it is composed is called Parlour Furlong, given to it perhaps from the discovery at some former period of old walls, which may have been popularly supposed to have surrounded a parlour. A careful examination of such local names might lead to very interesting results. The presence, also, of Roman bricks in churches furnishes evidence that an edifice of some description had existed there in the time of the Romans. In the walls of Whitton Chapel, near Caynham, bricks are used which are apparently Roman, and perhaps came from a villa in the neighbourhood; and, though the abundant Roman materials in the walls of Atcham church may have come from the ruins of Uriconium, they may with equal probability have been furnished by a villa which, as already stated, appears to have existed at Atcham itself.

There are few counties more thickly strewed with the sepulchral tumuli of their ancient inhabitants than Shropshire and Herefordshire, and, in many instances where the tumuli themselves have disappeared, the evidence of their former existence is preserved in the numerous names of places terminating in *low*, the Anglo-Saxon name for what we now more commonly term a *barrow*.* The subject of barrows is quite as obscure as that of old intrenchments, partly through the hasty and injudicious attempts of antiquaries to classify them. Some have proposed to arrange them according to their forms, others according to their positions, and almost all have

* The Anglo-Saxon word *hlæw*, or *hlaw*, signified primarily a low hill or hillock, but was usually applied to the artificial hills, or mounds, raised over the remains of the dead; it has in the changes of the language taken the form *low*, and when it occurs in the composition of the name of a place, usually at the end, it may always be taken as evidence that there was a sepulchral mound there, whether it be still existing or not. Thus, Ludlow means the low, or tumulus, at Lude, which appears from Mr. Eyton's researches to have been the name of the place in Anglo-Saxon times independently of the mound, which, though it exists no longer, is understood to have occupied part of the site of the present church. Our word *barrow* for a sepulchral mound, is the Anglo-Saxon *bearw*, or *bearo*, which was used in the same sense.

yielded to a tendency to overrate their antiquity. We can only be certain of the age to which a monument of this description belongs, when, on opening it, we can identify that of the objects found within. This identification is easy in the case of the tumuli of the pagan Anglo-Saxons, because it was the custom of that people to inter a great number and variety of objects with their dead; and we can sometimes identify Roman tumuli in the same manner. But it is very unsafe, in cases where we find few or no objects, or those of a kind of which we do not *know* the age, to conclude from those circumstances that they are of greater antiquity than those which contain objects of known date. To any one who reflects, it must be evident that the character and contents of a tumulus depended much, if not altogether, on the circumstances of the locality and of the individual who was buried in it. Men of wealth, especially in the neighbourhood of considerable towns, could purchase urns well made, which were on sale for such purposes, while in remote or less populous parts of the country, where such things were not always to be purchased, they would be either rudely made for the occasion, or would be dispensed with altogether, and they would also be more frequently made of perishable materials. Thus, while near a town, the ashes of the dead would be deposited in well-made urns, the work of skilful potters, such as those found in the cemetery of Uriconium, and which would be easily recognised as Roman, when an inhabitant of some distant hamlet died, his friends would probably make for him, with their hands, a rude vessel of clay, and bake it in the sun or by some other very imperfect process; and similarly, while the friends of the former might place in his grave some object of metal and of elegant workmanship, the latter might be accompanied only with some rude implement formed of chipped flint or rubbed stone. My own impression is that there are not a very great number of tumuli in Britain older than the Roman period, and the discovery of new facts is continually diminishing

the number of those which are reputed to be of so great antiquity. Not many years have passed since the Anglo-Saxon sepulchral remains were supposed to be ancient British, and observations I have made myself in excavating barrows belonging to a class still reputed to belong to the ages before the Roman invasion, have gone far towards convincing me that they really belong to the period which intervened between the withdrawal of the imperial government and the establishment of the Anglo-Saxons. Some antiquaries have held that, because Roman barrows are not found in Italy, the Romans never raised tumuli over their dead. But this argument is refuted by the fact that we do find in this country sepulchral mounds which were undoubtedly Roman. I need only refer for an example to the well-known Bartlow Hills, on the borders of Cambridgeshire and Essex. Moreover, it involves a grave fallacy. Very few of the Romans in Britain were Romans of Italy; but they were a people gathered from all the countries of the world which came under Roman influence, and, as we find from abundance of monuments that each brought with him the religious belief of his forefathers, there can hardly be a doubt that they also persisted, as far as circumstances allowed, in some of the modes of burial which were used in the countries they came from. This itself is quite enough to account for the varieties in the character of the barrow interments found in our country; and I shall not attempt, therefore, to decide whether any or what barrows on our border are British, or call any Roman, unless some object found in them be evidently Roman in character.

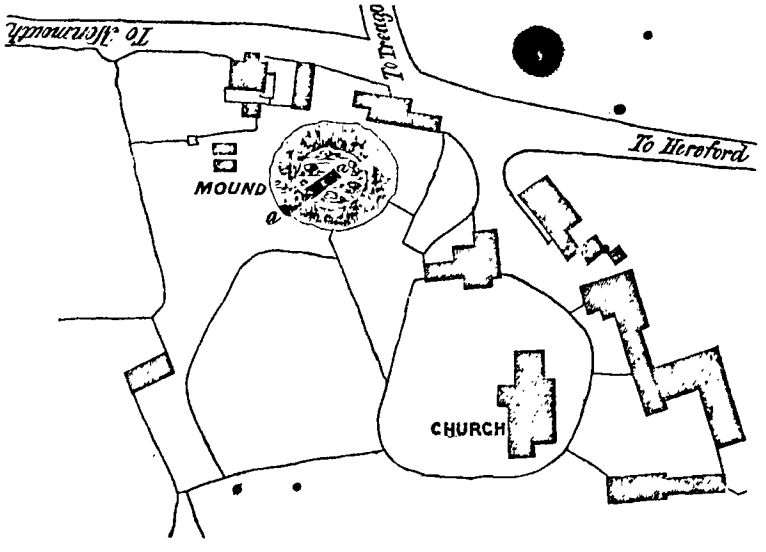
The object all peoples had in erecting a mound over the dead was of course to make the spot known, and their aim was two-fold, first, to make it durable, and, secondly, to place it in a position where it could be seen by many people, and whence the spirit of the departed, which was supposed to continue to haunt the grave, could also see many people and much territory. People who had no towns, and therefore no

roads of importance, like the Britons and all the German and northern peoples, usually chose for their burial places the tops of mountains or hills, where these existed, or at all events the highest and boldest elevation in the neighbourhood; while the Romans, who lived in towns, chose their burial places by the sides of the public roads where travellers passed, and to these the memorial inscriptions were sometimes addressed. In a population so mixed as that of Roman Britain, many, especially of the rural population, would doubtless still prefer the tops of the hills for this purpose, and the summit of the Brown Clee Hill as well as that of Titterstone, were probably early cemeteries inclosed by walls of stones, merely because earth was not here so easily procured. It would not be difficult to point out other hills in Shropshire on which barrows are found, and, as I have already observed, some of the intrenched hill tops so common in this part of the country probably served the same purpose. The tumuli found in the lower lands are much more remarkable in their character, and I believe usually stood by the side of the ancient roads.

There is one class of barrows which is almost peculiar to our border, and is generally found in a modern village, often standing in the near neighbourhood of the church.* These barrows are of large dimensions, and they are often, perhaps I may say generally, truncated, or, in other words, they have a flat space of ground on the top. This circumstance, and their great dimensions, led many people to dispute the fact of their being sepulchral, and to consider them as having served for beacons or watch-towers, or for some other purposes connected with the rude military system of ancient times. This question, however, was set to rest when, in 1855, I undertook the direction of excavations into one of these barrows which

* There can be no doubt that in times long subsequent to that of their erection, these mounds were objects of superstitious reverence, and the people of the neighbourhood probably assembled at them on certain festal occasions. The early missionaries who preached to our Saxon forefathers found thus a congregation already assembled, and they took advantage of this circumstance to erect their church there. This is no doubt the reason why we so frequently find a church and a great tumulus standing side by side, or at least near one another.

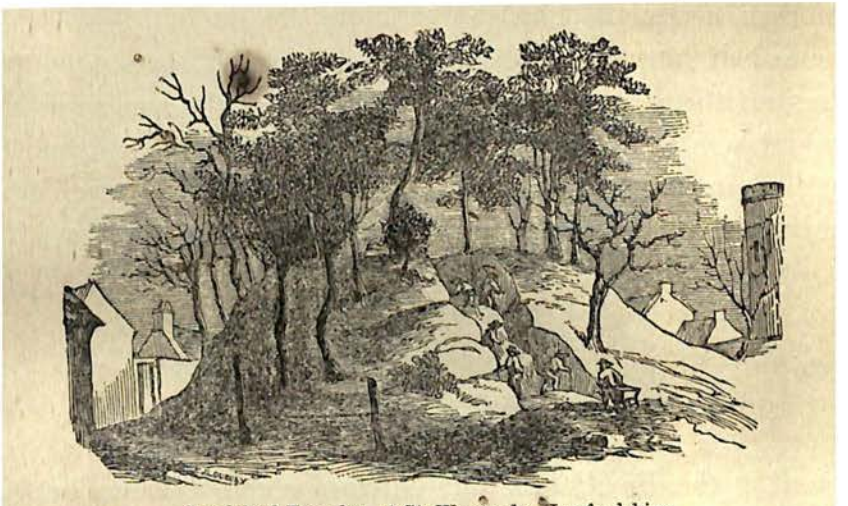
stands in the village of St. Weonards, in the south-west of Herefordshire, on the property of P. R. Mynors, Esq. This tumulus at St. Weonards is situated, as was that at Ludlow, on an elevated knoll, commanding a magnificent and extensive view, and overlooking a Roman road which ran from Monmouth (believed to be the Roman *Blestium*) towards Hereford, probably a direct road to the Roman *Magna* (Kenchester). Its position, and that of the cutting which was made into it, will be best understood by the accompanying diagram. The mound is about a hundred and thirty feet in diameter, and twenty feet in height, with a circular platform



on the summit seventy-six feet in diameter. The cut on the next page will give the best notion of its present appearance, and of the manner in which we opened it.* A trench from eight to nine feet wide was cut from the south eastern side towards the centre, and this cutting, which was fourteen feet deep from the surface of the mound, was continued to a little distance beyond the centre. The reason I took this level was that some circumstances led me to

* I communicated an account of these excavations, and of Treago, the ancient mansion of the Mynors family, to the Archæologia Cambrensis, in which it was published in July, 1855, and I have now to thank the Cambrian Archæological Association for the loan of the engravings which illustrated it.

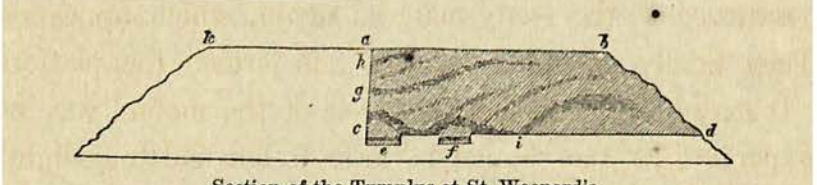
believe that, before the tumulus was raised, an artificial level had been made for the interment, and this I found to be the case. The direction and extent of this cutting, as well as the position of the mound with regard to the village and the church, will be best understood by the accompanying plan; and it may be remarked that in the view of the mound given below, the church steeple is seen to the right. At about fifteen feet from the centre of the mound, the workmen came upon what appeared to be a small mound of stones, or cairn, but which proved to be a small vaulted chamber, built of the sandstone of the locality, which breaks up easily into large



Sepulchral Tumulus, at St. Weonards, Herefordshire.

flat pieces. Beyond this, we came to another similar but rather larger vault, and on clearing them away, we found the first empty, except of earth which had gradually dropped through the interstices of the stones, but the second containing a mass of much finer mould than that of the rest of the mound. These rude vaults were cleared away, but at first we found no traces within them of sepulchral interment, and yet we were evidently on the level on which the mound was raised. However, I directed the men to sink a pit on the spot which had been covered by the principal vault of stones, and they had not proceeded far, before they came to a mass of ashes,

mixed with pieces of charcoal and fragments of burnt human bones, which was found to be about a foot and a half thick, and was about nine or ten feet in diameter. A piece of the thigh bone, part of the bone of the pelvis, and a fragment of the shoulder blade, were picked up here; and it appeared evident that the whole of the ashes of the funeral pile had been placed on the ground at this spot, and that a small mound of fine earth had been raised over them, upon which had been built a rude roof or vault of large rough stones. No traces of urns or of any other manufactured article, were met with. When a similar pit was sunk under the first mound of stones, another interment of ashes was found, also mixed with human bones half burnt. The sepulchral character of the mound was thus satisfactorily proved. The cutting of the trench in the way it was done, revealed in a very remarkable manner the method in which it was erected, which will be explained by the accompanying diagram, representing a section of the



Section of the Tumulus at St. Weonard's.

mound in the direction of our cutting, which is shewn by the shaded part. In this diagram, *e* and *f* represent the two pits dug through the layers of ashes, (represented by the black lines,) to a small depth below. On the surface of our cutting, as here represented, were visible regular discolourations arising from the employment of different kinds of material. The mass of the mound consisted of a uniform light-coloured sand; but from the point *i*, a narrow arched stripe of a much darker mould occurred, as represented in the cut. Beyond this, two or three other bands, but thinner, of a lighter-coloured soil, and therefore less strongly marked, followed each other, until at *g*, we came upon a narrow band of small stones, also represented in the cut; and at *h*, near the summit of the

mound, there was another bed of similar stones. It is evident that, in the interment, a level surface was first formed, in the middle of which two holes were made for the reception of the ashes of the funeral pile, that these were covered with earth and vaulted over with stones, that a circular embankment was next formed round the whole, and from this embankment the workmen filled up the interior inwards towards the centre. When they began filling in, they appear to have met with some darker mould, which has formed the band at *i*, and this dark band probably defined very nearly the outline of the first embankment. The lighter shaded bands show the successive fillings in towards the centre, until at length the workmen made use of a quantity of stones and rubble, taken perhaps from the quarry which furnished the large stones of the internal vaults. This bed of stones forms a kind of basin in the middle of the mound. They then went on filling again with the sand, till the work was nearly finished, when they returned to the stony material again, which appears at *h*. They finally smoothed the top, and formed the platform *k b*. It may be added, that the circle of the mound was not quite perfect, as the diameter through our cutting slightly exceeded in length the transverse diameter. The only piece of pottery which was found in the mound appeared to be Roman.

A tumulus, in Shropshire, closely resembling that at St. Weonards, has been accidentally cut partly away, so as to admit of its examination. It is situated in the village of Fitz, about five miles to the north-east of Shrewsbury, on the ground of R. Middleton, Esq., and one side of it was taken away in order to enlarge the farm-yard, to which it was adjoining, and not far from the church. On a visit to Fitz, in 1860, with my friend Mr. Henry T. Wace, of Shrewsbury, I was informed by Mr. Middleton that towards the middle some ashes and burnt bones were found, although the centre had not been reached. When I saw it, the surface of the

cutting was sufficiently fresh to exhibit the shades of different coloured earth used in the filling in, which showed that the mound had been constructed in exactly the same manner as that at St. Weonards, namely, that a circular embankment had first been made, and that the mound had been filled in from the circumference of the circle, and not, as the common notion of building sepulchral mounds supposes, filled out from the centre. This tumulus was a hundred feet in diameter at the base, and forty-eight at the top, and about eleven feet high. It stands on an eminence commanding a fine view of the surrounding county.*

Another large barrow, a few yards to the north-east of the church at Clungunford, was opened some years ago by the incumbent, the Rev. John Rocke, whose account of the results is given by his friend, Mr. Hartshorne, in the Salopia Antiqua,† whom I can only follow in describing it. This tumulus was about fifteen feet high, and a hundred and three feet in diameter at the base, and forty-nine at the top. "Mr. Rocke made an incision into the barrow from the north, by cutting a passage five feet five inches wide, which he carried on six feet beyond the centre in a southern direction. At the distance of eight feet from the edge, he came upon a solid mass of ashes, in which were found numerous pieces of rude unbaked pottery. This cinereal stratum was one inch and a half in thickness at its commencement, and kept gradually increasing as it got nearer the centre, when it became four inches thick. Four feet from the edge of the ashes, or twelve from the extremity of the barrow, a stratum of deep grey-coloured mud began, of that kind thrown

* I have since received from Mr. Middleton the following account of the appearances which presented themselves in the process of cutting away the side of this tumulus: "About fifteen years ago, while cutting it evenly through to the base to enlarge the yard in which it stands, at about eight feet from the centre, we came upon a curious pile of pebblestones, placed much as bricks are in an arch, in which form they were erected, and under them (so far as my memory serves me) a little space, and then a quantity of fine gravel or sand, and under that a large quantity of ashes containing burnt bones. This fortunately happened to be just in the face of the perpendicular we were cutting, or it would not have been seen, and I have little doubt but that another similar was found about the same distance from the centre in another place, but as what appeared to be the top of it was broken in with pickaxes, we found it hard to decide, as large quantities of ashes were dispersed more or less in layers all over it near the base or primitive soil."

† Hartshorne's Salopia Antiqua, p. 102.

out of fish-ponds; it took an undulating form, and at the centre of the tumulus was as much as eight feet in thickness. It was highly charged with a light-coloured matter, resembling mushroom spawn, which after a few minutes exposure to the air assumed a pale Prussian-blue colour. It contained animal matter, pieces of charcoal, of unburnt wood, pieces of bone, and fragments of unburnt pottery; the handle of one piece had the impression of a man's thumb on the under side. Below this stratum was another of a similar kind, varying, however, in some degree, inasmuch as it was of a deeper colour, and appeared more highly charged with animal matter. Besides containing bones of oxen and large pieces of charcoal, there were in this deposit boar's tusks, and two pieces of iron resembling a horse-shoe nail; one long and thin like an awl, the other like a 'frost-nail.'" The state of mud here described probably arose from some peculiarity of the ground, and other particulars bear a resemblance, if we keep in mind the difference of locality, to a large Roman barrow at Snodland, in Kent, which I assisted in opening in 1844.* The iron nails were no doubt used in attaching together the wooden frame on which the body was laid for burning, and preclude the supposition of this barrow being older than the Roman period. It is, in fact, nearly adjacent to the southern branch of the Watling Street. "At the distance of twenty feet six inches from the outside of the barrow, Mr. Rocke came upon a heap of stones, which was three feet nine inches wide, and one foot eight inches high; underneath it lay the dark mass of charcoal before mentioned. At this point the richer mud was one foot in thickness; midway betwixt this part and the centre it increased to one foot four inches. . . . . Towards the centre there appeared to be two strata of ashes; the lower one was four inches thick, the upper one three inches thick, having nine inches of clay betwixt them. This seemed to have been sunk on the eastern side, as the ashes rose up

* See my Wanderings of an Antiquary, p. 183.

towards the west. The richest part of the mud was towards the centre of the mound; it was there of a deeper cast, and fuller of the prussiate of iron, and here it was two feet thick above the coal hearth, and about two feet six inches below it. Outside the heap of stones, just where the cinereal stratum commenced, was found a great quantity of vegetable matter, which seemed to be rushes. Having carried on his investigations thus far, Mr. Rocke reached the centre of the tumulus, and thinking that he might still have missed some interment, he continued the excavation five feet further, and two feet lower. He still found the same kind of mud, but in a more liquid state, and falling into a basin as it were, in the centre of which was a plum-pudding stone of a peculiar shape, one foot high and eighteen inches long, and fifty pounds weight, that had formerly been supported by a piece of cleft oak, which was lying flat underneath it."

A certain number of these sepulchral mounds are marked in the maps of the ordnance survey, but many more, although of considerable magnitude, have escaped the observation of the surveyors. Many have been wholly or partly cleared away, and no memorial of what was found in them preserved; but in general they seem to have been very unproductive of objects of interest, and indeed excavations into these large barrows on our border have only satisfied us of the fact that they were erected for sepulchral purposes, and that the bodies of the dead had been in all cases burnt before interment. According to the old monkish record of the clearing away of the tumulus at Ludlow, at the end of the twelfth century, the bodies of its tenants had been buried entire; but as these monks wanted relics of saints, we cannot trust much to their statements, as far as regards this question. I believe no other instance occurs of the remains of bodies which had been interred without burning in any of the tumuli on the borders of Wales. In 1823 an opening was made into a large tumulus at Stapleton, five miles to the south of Shrewsbury,

but nothing more was discovered than a sepulchral urn of baked clay. A large tumulus stands close to the church of Little Ness, about seven miles north-west of Shrewsbury. Mr. Pidgeon informs me that some years ago he "delved at its side, and found quantities of animal bones and burnt wood." There was another large conical mound at Cressage, eight miles to the south-east of Shrewsbury, contiguous to a ford through the Severn; but early in the year 1861 it was partly removed in the formation of the line of the Severn Valley Railway, and no information has been preserved of any discoveries made in digging into it. A large tumulus at the corner of cross roads at Eaton, in the parish of Lydbury North, was partly cut away a few years ago, for purposes of utility, and a number of urns and burnt bones were found, which were preserved by the late Rev. John Rogers, of the Home. I examined both the mound and the urns, in company with Mr. More, of Linley Hall, and believe them to have been of the Roman period.

I have already stated that the tumuli of the Roman period were usually placed along the lines of their roads, often, no doubt, attached to villas which were built in similar positions. The tumuli at Fitz and Little Ness, as well as another at Wilcot, near the Nescliff, stood near the road from Uriconium through Rutunium to Mediolanium. A tumulus at Yockleton adjoined the Roman road leading from Shrewsbury westward through Stony Stretton; while one at Woolaston, as well as that at Eaton, and another at Hardwick near Eaton, stood near a probable road leading from Shrewsbury in the direction of Bishop's Castle. That at Cressage stood upon a road, which there can be little doubt was Roman, running perhaps from Rutunium, on the southern side of the river, to Wenlock, and onward to Bridgnorth. That at Stapleton stood perhaps on a road running from Uriconium, or branching from the Watling Street across the country towards Bishop's Castle, or perhaps on a branch of the road running from the site

of Shrewsbury southward, to join the Watling Street, on the line of which, but nearer Shrewsbury, is also found the boldly intrenched area called the Burghs, which I have omitted to mention in the list of early so-called "camps," and the tumuli at Smethcote and Woolstaston may perhaps have bordered the same road. Tumuli are found at various places along the line of the southern Watling Street, as at Clungunford, at Broadward, several in the neighbourhood of Leintwardine, and others further south. Two fine tumuli at the village of Aston, between three and four miles to the south-west of Ludlow, probably stood by the side of a cross road, and in the vicinity of a Roman villa. There are tumuli at Rushbury, and at Holgate, in Corve Dale, on the line of road already mentioned as running by the former place and Nordy Bank; and the tumuli of smaller dimensions on the Old Field near Ludlow, that which formerly existed at Ludlow itself, and that still remaining at Tenbury, stood in all probability near a line of Roman road running in the direction they indicate. A branch of this road seems to have ran more directly south. Mr. J. T. Irvine, who had the direction of the very important restorations of the church of St. Lawrence, at Ludlow, and who, with a very great intelligence of these ancient remains, visited attentively the country for a considerable distance round that town, has called my attention to a Roman road which comes from Herefordshire by Portcullis, Preston Wynn, Lower Holback, Bowley Lane, Blackwardine, (in the parish of Humber,) Stretford, Pattys Cross, Stockton, (in the parish of Kimbolton,) and Ashton, and thence indistinctly towards Broderts Bridge, near Wooferton, and suggests that the Ypocessa, or Epocessa of the anonymous geographer of Ravenna, may have been on this line. In fact, Blackwardine appears by the great quantities of Roman remains found there, to have been some rather important Roman station. A little wide of this road, which perhaps came straight from Gloucester, are Sutton

Walls, the palace of king Offa, and close upon it are the fine intrenchments of Risbury Camp, near Humber, the camp near Upper Bach, in Kimbolton parish, a "camp" within a mile, at Ashton, and a large tumulus called the Castle Tump, a little farther north. On the eastern side of the county the tumuli seem to be scattered much more irregularly, though they may still have been near cross-roads, which appear to have been numerous in this part of the county, and the positions of which were no doubt connected with the works of the mining districts, and perhaps with villas of men who were more or less employed in the direction or command of the mining operations. There are several tumuli in Linley Park, no doubt the burial places of some of the inhabitants of the extensive villa already described.

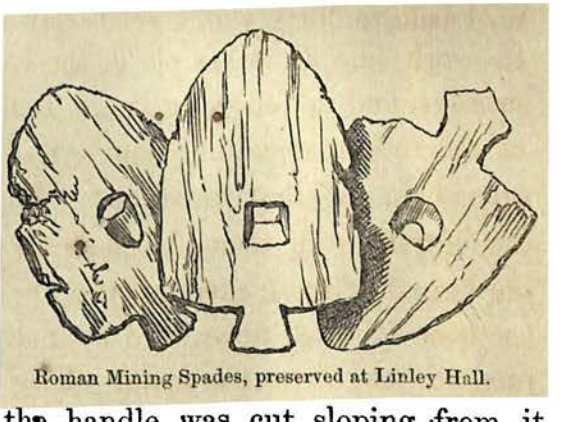
We must not overlook the important monuments of the Roman period just alluded to,—the remains of their mining operations. These were carried on actively and extensively on the western side of Shropshire especially, where the Romans obtained large quantities of lead and apparently a considerable supply of copper, with some other metals in smaller quantities. The locality which in this district furnished the greatest supply of lead was the Stiperstones range, with the lesser mountains depending on it, especially Shelve Hill, on the property of Mr. More of Linley Hall.

Pliny, who died in the year 79, informs us that lead, which he calls *nigrum plumbum*, to distinguish it from *plumbum album* (or tin), was found in Britain so plentifully on the surface of the ground, or, as he expresses it, on the earth's outside skin, that it was found convenient to make a law which limited the quantity to be extracted.* The great Roman naturalist does not tell us in what part of Britain this occurred, but it is in the highest degree probable that he alludes to the district just mentioned, for the remains of the Roman workings on the Shelve Hill, which are of a very

* See Pliny, as already quoted on p. 7 of the present volume.

remarkable character, agree exactly with Pliny's statement that the metal was found on the surface of the ground. Along this hill the lead ore, which runs almost in horizontal veins across it nearly from east to west, came out upon the surface of the rock. In this condition it must have been found by the Romans, and their miners began to work apparently from the bottom of the hill, following the vein into the rock as far as they could trace it. The remains of their labours are visible along the whole surface of the hill, and resemble somewhat a series of irregular cuttings along a large cheese; but the most remarkable of these occur at a spot near the northern end of the hill, where, at its foot, a mine called the Roman Gravel Mine is now in operation. We may here trace distinctly and on a large scale the manner in which the Roman miners followed the veins of ore. Where it did not appear to run deep, they soon gave up the labour of breaking the rock till they came to another, but, leaving only a shallow cutting, followed the vein along the surface, while in some places the cutting is at the same time very narrow and very deep. In one instance it sinks to a depth of, I believe, forty yards, yet barely wide enough for one man to work in. In other places the vein of ore had been more massive, and in following it the Roman miners had hollowed in the rock cavern-like chambers, from which galleries were carried in different directions. These are now, or at least the entrances to them, blocked up with rubbish. In one of the largest of these caverns, near the brow of the hill, the vein has been followed downward by a shaft of great depth; in its present state a stone is heard rolling down for several seconds. It is not easily examined on account of its position in a dark corner, and from the dangers of slipping into it; but having been carried up to the surface of the rock above, no doubt to facilitate the raising of weights up and letting them down, it appears that it was a rectangular shaft of small dimensions. From discoveries made in this island of pits for various

purposes, it appears that the Romans were in the habit of sinking to very considerable depths shafts so narrow that in some instances they could hardly be excavated by a single man. At Richborough, in Kent (the Roman Rutupiæ), circular pits were found in making the cutting for the railway from Sandwich to Minster, which were from twenty to thirty feet in depth, and hardly more than *two* feet in diameter. By the remains described above, we should not know how deep the Roman miners in Shelve Hill went, but the modern miners of the Roman Gravel Mine have met with the Roman shafts and galleries at a very considerable depth, while the excavations of former, though still recent, miners on the same spot have shown that the Romans, in following the veins from the surface, missed very large masses of metal.* The antiquity of these mines has been proved not only by pigs of lead bearing the stamp of Roman emperors, but by Roman coins and pottery found from time to time among the Roman rubbish. Early mining implements also have been found, and especially a curious description of spade, of which Mr. More possesses three samples, which are all represented in the the accompanying cut. They are formed of laminæ of oak timber, roughly split and cut into the shape shewn in these figures, with a very short stumpy handle, and a hole, generally square, the side of which nearest the handle was cut sloping from it. This hole was evidently intended to receive a short staff, which might be used as a lever in giving force to the movement of the hand; and the implement itself was no doubt



Roman Mining Spades, preserved at Linley Hall.

* Immediately under one part of the ancient workings, about 16 years ago, one "pipe" of ore produced two thousand tons in eleven months at a depth of eighty yards.

designed for shovelling away the broken stones containing the lead ore in narrow passages where there was not space for giving much movement to the human body. The dimensions of the spade or shovel in the middle of these three spades, which are all drawn to the same scale, is sixteen inches long by eight and a half in greatest breadth. Our only authority for stating these spades to be Roman is, of course, the fact of their having been found in the rubbish of these Roman mines; but it must be stated also that in other parts of our island similar spades, and of the same materials, have been also found in the remains of mines which are undoubtedly Roman. They furnish a remarkable proof of the great durability of sound oak timber.

No traces of the places for washing and smelting the ores obtained by the Romans from these mines have yet been met with, but that these processes were carried on in the neighbourhood of the mines is proved by the discovery already alluded to, of Roman pigs of lead found within no great distance. In addition to the two examples I have already mentioned, there is one in the British Museum, found in the last century at Snailbeach at the northern end of the Stiperstones. All three bear the mark of the emperor Hadrian. This name, and the allusions in Pliny, shew at what an early period of the Roman settlement in this country the mines of the Stiperstones district were worked.*

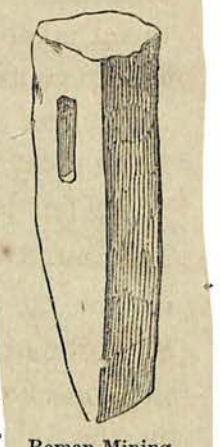
Westward of the Stiperstones mountains, and throughout the county of Montgomery, lead and copper are found in abundance, and we trace everywhere the presence of the Roman miners. But we will not on this occasion wander from our own county. To the east of the Stiperstones copper is found, but not now in such quantity as will pay for the labour of mining, as far as it has been discovered. I am

* The lead mines,—or, at least, a lead mine,—at Shelve, were worked again by the Normans, and a considerable quantity of lead was obtained thence during the latter half of the twelfth and the thirteenth centuries, as appears from documents quoted by Mr. Eyton, in his excellent *Antiquities of Shropshire*, vol. xi. p. 110. It is probable that the want of lead for roofing the numerous monastic houses erected during the former period led to the renewal of mining operations in this district.

informed by my friend Mr. More, that the little stream which enters his park under Radley Hill, and which is marked in the Ordnance Survey Map as the Black Brook, running southwardly at the eastern foot of the Stiperstones, divides the lead district from the copper. The hill in Linley Park, opposite Radley Hill, certainly contains copper; and there are traces of copper over the whole district between Minsterley and the Stiperstones on the one side, and the Longmynd on the other. Copper has also been found, though in no great quantities, in Lythe Hill, facing the entrance to the valley of Church Stretton. Hence the copper district turns northwardly. To the north of Shrewsbury we meet a flat country with a broken line of eminences, the latter represented by Grinshill and the Hawkstone hills, which all contain copper. My friend Mr. Samuel Wood, of Shrewsbury, informs me that there are traces of mines which had been worked by the Romans at the Clive, near Grinshill, and he is of opinion that the well-known grotto in Hawkstone Park, with its dark passage of eighty yards, was certainly formed by the Romans in working for copper ore.

From this spot the traces of Roman mining operations disappear until we arrive at the hill of Llanymynech, on the north-western borders of our county. Llanymynech Hill is a mountain of limestone of considerable extent arising from the plain at some distance in advance of the edge of the mountain district of Denbighshire. Between the strata of lime occurs a very tenacious smooth clay, with orange-coloured ochre and green plumose carbonate of copper. The latter attracted the attention of the Roman miners, and remains of their extensive works are found on the north-west side of the hill. These consist of shallow pits, the debris from the excavations of which are full of small pieces of copper ore. In the neighbourhood of these pits we find traces of vitrification, which seem to show that the Romans here smelted their copper on open hearths. They had also penetrated deep

into the mountain, and there is a rather celebrated cavern, of considerable dimensions, known popularly by the Welsh name of Ogo (a cave), from which irregular winding passages run in different directions, and connected with these the remains of air-shafts have been found: Though at the beginning they are not easy of access, the Roman workings in the interior of Llanymynech Hill have been explored more than once. In the latter half of the last century they were entered by miners in search of copper, who found a certain number of Roman coins, some mining implements, and, it is stated, culinary utensils, and several human skeletons and scattered bones,—one of the skeletons having a bracelet on the left arm, and a "battle-axe" by his side.* Some of the mining implements found here were deposited with other antiquities in the Library of Shrewsbury School, but they appear to be no longer preserved. My friend, the Rev. C. H. Hartshorne, however, who was educated at Shrewsbury School, made drawings of them before they were lost, and by his kindness I am enabled to give a figure of one of them in the accompanying cut. It is a rather heavy pick, eight inches and a half long, by about two in diameter at its thickest end, and appears to have been used for breaking and extracting rock, or perhaps for crushing the ore. At a rather later period, a gentleman well-known in the literary history of Shropshire, J. F. M. Dovaston, explored the Roman workings as completely as it could be done, taking the precaution of carrying a piece of chalk with him to mark his way. He found some of the passages, which were extremely sinuous, extending as far as two hundred yards, sometimes so small that it was necessary even to creep through them, while they were usually from a yard to three yards



Roman Mining Tool.

* See Pennant's *Tours in Wales*, vol. iii. p. 218, edition of 1810; and Nicholson's *Cambrian Traveller's Guide*, under the word *Llan y Mynach*.

wide, and at times, where the ore had been found in larger quantities, became developed into broad and lofty chambers. These passages had all been cut through the solid rock, and in many places the marks of the chisel were distinctly visible.* "Long passages," as we are told in the account of this exploration, "frequently terminate in small holes about the size to admit a man's arm, as if the metal ran in strings, and had been picked out quite clean, with hammers and long chisels, as far as they could reach." The roofs of these caverns were covered with pendant stalactites, which glittered brilliantly in the light of the torches. It is further stated that so many human bones were found scattered about, that it was conjectured that these caves had become, in the troubled times which followed the overthrow of the Roman empire in the west, a place of refuge in moments of danger, and that the fugitives had perished there. Roman antiquities of various descriptions, and especially coins, are still often found on Llanymynech Hill, and Mr. Pidgeon, of Shrewsbury, possesses about twenty copper coins obtained here, ranging from the earlier emperors to a tolerably late period of the imperial sway in Britain. The metal taken from the Llanymynech Hill was no doubt principally copper; but the Romans also obtained some lead and calamine. It still produces lead and copper, though I believe in no great abundance.†

As far as we can discover, the Romans seem not to have been aware of the existence of iron in Shropshire; but there can be no doubt that they had discovered and worked the Shropshire coal-field. In the course of the following pages we shall meet with repeated evidence of the use of mineral coal by the inhabitants of Uriconium. It appears, however, to have been generally the coal of inferior quality which they

* This is the case also at present in a part of the Roman cuttings on Shelve Hill, where the rock which formerly covered it has recently fallen in, and left some of the internal surface exposed to view which was formerly concealed.

† See, for further information on this subject, my paper on the "Roman Mining Operations on the Borders of Wales," in the "Intellectual Observer," vol. i. p. 295, from which the foregoing remarks on the Roman Mines are chiefly repeated.

found near the surface, and which is still called surface coal. Even within a century back, people in some parts of the West Riding of Yorkshire were accustomed to supply themselves with mineral coal by digging in their fields.

It will be remarked, in perusing the foregoing sketch of the existing remains and traces of the population of Shropshire under the Romans, that they are found most plentifully in the centre of the county, and in the western and southern parts. It is very probable that the north eastern part of the county was then covered with the forests from which the inhabitants of Uriconium procured the boars and other wild animals, the remains of which are found so plentifully in the course of our excavations. But western Shropshire, and all the country south of the Watling Street, including Herefordshire as far as the iron districts of the forest of Dean, were no doubt in the time of the Romans well inhabited and richly productive.

The slight glances at the history of the province of Britain which we obtain from the existing Roman writers, throw no light on the events which may have occurred on our border. We can only conjecture that when, in the latter end of the fourth century and the earlier part of the fifth, the ties which held the island province to imperial Rome were loosened, and the Roman population of our island began to intrigue and rebel and set up emperors for themselves, our border must have held an important place in the political events of Britain from the circumstance that two of the three legions stationed in the island had their head quarters at its northern and southern extremities, at Deva (Chester,) and Isca Silurum (Caerleon). At the time of the compilation of the important official work called the *Notitia Utriusque Imperii*, believed to have been about the year 410, both the legions had been withdrawn from this part of the island, the twentieth, from Deva, having passed over to the continent, and the second, from Isca, being stationed at Rutupiæ (Richborough, in Kent), ready to follow it. The

districts on the Welsh border were probably attractive by their richness, as they were exposed by their position, to the barbarous marauders who now began to attack the province from every side. The mouth of the Dee and the coasts of Flintshire lay open on the north to the terrible Picts and Scots, while no doubt invaders equally destructive, perhaps Irish (only another name for Scots) and Bretons from the coast of Gaul, with any other tribes who would join them, following the rivers and the roads, could overrun and ravage the whole of the border, almost with impunity. It was no long time after the compilation of the *Notitia*, when the towns of Britain were finally released from the imperial supremacy by the letters of Honorius recommending them to provide for their own defence. It was at some period after this event, as I shall endeavour to shew in the next chapter, that the city of Uriconium perished, and our border appears at that time to have been inundated by a deluge of barbarians which left the whole country a waste. All the Roman towns appear to have been taken and destroyed, including Isca itself, Venta, Blestium, Ariconium, Magna, Bravinium, our Uriconium, and the other towns to the east and north-west of it, and none of them are heard of afterwards except in fable and romance. Deva seems alone to have been strong enough to resist the invaders, for it continued to exist as an important city under the Anglo-Saxons; and this circumstance renders it probable that this final devastation of this part of the Roman province came from the south. Amid blackened ruins of towns and villas, all that remained here of the civilization of the Romans was their roads, their hill intrenchments, and their tumuli, with a population scattered and terrified, and fearfully reduced in numbers.

We might here conclude our notice of Roman Shropshire, but I am unwilling to leave one of the classes of remains just mentioned without some account of its subsequent history, because it presents a curious illustration of the state of the

country during the ages which followed the close of the Roman period. The Saxons were, as I have remarked already, no road-makers, and the Roman roads remained the only works of the kind in our island for a great length of time,—in fact they are the foundation of most of our principal lines of road at the present day. Hence, most of the great roads in other parts of the island were adopted and kept up by the Anglo-Saxon settlers. But in Shropshire, where the country had probably become very thinly inhabited, and where all the old commerce and traffic had perished, the Roman roads remained useless and neglected until the period when Shrewsbury rose into existence, and became a place of importance. The roads to the west of Shrewsbury, which led into the mining districts, now that the latter were abandoned, appear to have been so generally lost, that even the continuation of the Watling Street in that direction can no longer be traced with certainty. But we can trace to the eastward not only the Watling Street itself, but the different variations from it which have been made at different periods by local or other causes.

Shrewsbury, as has been before stated, stands on the Watling Street, and appears to have arisen on the site of some small Roman station. When Uriconium was destroyed, and its ruins too vast to be cleared away for the foundation of a town among a small population, Shrewsbury was decidedly the best site on the river for a settlement. We might suppose that the inhabitants of Shrewsbury would have adopted the Watling Street as their road eastward, but this appears not to have been the case, and it was perhaps the ruins of Uriconium, which must have blocked it up, and probably also the insecurity of this road from causes not now known to us, which led them to abandon it. They chose for their route towards the south-eastern parts of the island, a road no doubt also Roman, which passed by Wenlock to Bridgnorth. The foundation of the abbey of Wenlock by the Saxon prince Merewald, in the latter half of the seventh century, may

probably be taken as a proof that at that period this was the road in general use. Bridgnorth was evidently from an early period a very important position. The Anglo-Saxons called it simply Bricg, the bridge, because the Severn was there passed by a bridge, which the peculiarity of the site rendered the position well calculated for defending. The epithet North was given to it no doubt because, after the destruction of the Roman bridge at Uriconium, it was the last bridge up the river. It became thus the place for passing the Severn in the way to Shrewsbury and North Wales,—it was the key to that road. It was this circumstance which caused Ethelfleda, in 912, to erect the first known fortress of Bridgnorth, as a barrier to the inroads of the Danes, who took this way into Shropshire. After the Conquest, Bridgnorth continued to be considered as the eastern outpost of Shrewsbury and the earldom of Salop, and great importance was given to its castle by the Norman earls. In 1202, king John marched to Shrewsbury by way of Bridgnorth, and in 1220, and, in 1223 and 1224, he went to and from Shrewsbury by the same route. The way from Bridgnorth to London then passed through Kidderminster and Worcester. This appears to have been the regular high road from London to Shrewsbury during the middle ages.

At some period of the middle ages, however, the old Watling Street road was resumed by making a deviation from that road a little to the north so as to avoid the ruins of Uriconium. In the time of queen Elizabeth, people seemed to have usually travelled to Shrewsbury by the Watling Street road. Every reader will remember how Shakespeare, in the first part of King Henry IV., leads Falstaff in the route of the king's troops by this way. Falstaff complains of his soldiers having stolen a shirt "from my host at St. Alban's, or the red-nose innkeeper of Daintry;" and at the beginning of the scene, which is laid in "a public road near Coventry," he is introduced saying, "Bardolph, get thee before to Coventry;

fill me a bottle of sack; our soldiers shall march through; we'll to Sutton Coldfield to-night." Sutton Coldfield is situated at a short distance from the Watling Street on the borders of Warwickshire and Staffordshire. Birmingham was now rising into importance, and caused a deviation to be made from this road, for in the list of roads in Piers' Almanack for 1640, the road from Shrewsbury to London is given as running through Watling Street, Sheffnal, Bonigall, Wolverhampton, Bremicham (Birmingham), Meriden, Coventrie, &c. For some reason, however, some few years afterwards, when the traffic on the main roads began to be more regular, the part of this road between Birmingham and Shrewsbury was abandoned for the old road by way of Bridgnorth; and John Ogilby, who first published plans of the principal roads made from an actual survey of them all in 1674, delineates the road from London to Shrewsbury as leaving the Watling Street, or Holyhead Road, at Weedon, and as passing through Birmingham and Dudley to Bridgnorth, and thence by way of Wenlock, Harley, Cressage, and Cound, to Shrewsbury. This continued to be the road to Shrewsbury when the revised and diminished edition of Ogilby's road-maps was published by Emanuel Bowen, in the year 1731, about which time it was finally abandoned, and the permanent service of coaches was established on the road indicated in the Almanack of 1640, which has continued to be the regular coach road to London down to the present time. A note engraved in one corner of the map in the edition of Bowen's Ogilby just alluded to,* informs us rather quaintly that since the survey was made, a better way "had been found," as though people had been

* This note is so quaint, that I give it here verbatim. "Advertisement. Since the Survey of this Road by our Author, that part of it from Birmingham to Shrewsbury, passing through Dudley, Bridgnorth, Wenlock, &c., as describ'd in ye Plan in this Page, is now wholly disused or laid aside; a much better Way having since been found both in respect of goodness and shortness: an Account of which we have rec'd from a Gentleman who is well acquainted therewith, viz., as soon as you pass Birmingham, the New Road breaks off on the Left acutely and passes thro' W. Birmingham, Wolverhampton, Boxnigal, Cosford, Shiffnal, Priors Lee, Oken-yate, Watling Street, Pen [Tern] Bridge, Alcham (Atcham), Enstry, and so to Shrewsbury."

searching their way through a wilderness, and that the old road was then totally disused. It is probable that the reasons for abandoning the Watling Street beyond Meriden, were, first, the dangers to which it was exposed from highwaymen and others in the wild wooded country of Sutton, Cannock, and other chases, and, secondly, the increasing manufacturing and commercial importance of Birmingham.* It is probable also that the road from Birmingham by way of Shiffnal had become a very bad one, for in the Itinerary of Cook's County Directory for Shropshire, published early in the present century, the road in different places, as at Bromwich Heath, Bilston, Tettenhall, and Boninghal, that is, between where it left the Watling Street and the place where it rejoined it, remarks are made relating to then recent improvements of the road which would lead us to suppose that it had previously been in a deplorable condition. It may be remarked also, that the folio edition of Ogilby, printed in 1698, contains

* The same reasons, no doubt, caused the old Holyhead road to be gradually abandoned. I have received some remarks on this subject from a friend at Walsall, Mr. W. H. Duignan, with whom I visited the part of the road in his own neighbourhood, some two years ago, and who has explored personally the whole line of the Watling Street with great care, and I may add, great antiquarian knowledge, which are so much to the purpose, and so interesting, that I shall take the liberty of inserting them here.—"The *ancient* way from London to Shrewsbury, Chester, and all parts of North Wales, was *via* Barnet, Towcester, &c., Coventry, Stone Bridge, Castle Bromwich, Ivetsey Bank, Weston, (here the road goes to the right, to Chester, &c.) It is the Watling Street up to Weedon, there it leaves it, and joins it again at the Rising Sun on Cannock Chase, and travels on it again close up to Shrewsbury. We crossed this road just above where I pointed out to you a withered old oak, and on our return I shewed you the Welsh Harp, and the Swan near it, just before we walked up that gravelly hill. The Four Crosses is a very ancient half timbered hostelry, eight miles north of the Welsh Harp. In my opinion the whole road was used by the Romans, as there are tumuli and camps all along it. It was formerly *the* great coach and post road, but became forsaken about 70 or 80 years ago, as it is said by tradition and history, on account of its being so infested by highwaymen, who found shelter on the great wastes of Sutton Coldfield and Cannock Chase. In some of my old papers I have accounts of the apprehension of great highwaymen, almost of Dick Turpin celebrity, on this road; but I am disposed to think that the growing importance of Birmingham attracted the Shrewsbury traffic, which then passed on through Dudley and Bridgnorth, and the Chester traffic was also diverted *via* Coleshill, Lichfield, Stone, &c. In one of his journies to London, Pennant goes from Whitchurch, in Shropshire, to the Welsh Harp in one day, and thinks it a prodigious journey. The cattle and packhorse traffic used to go (or at all events a great deal of it, between North Wales and London) through Kenilworth, Offchurch, Lentham, Cubbington, &c., where it is called the Welsh road, and the Welshman's road, and the Welshmen travel it to this day, with one or two divergencies, to avoid modern toll gates, and they have told me they can drive their cattle from Carnarvonshire to London without paying a gate. The inns on the old Chester road were frequent, and enormously large, (the Welsh Harp contains eight finely panneled rooms,) and it is melancholy to see, even at this distance of time, the dilapidated old coach-houses, and the acres of stabling; and about most of them you may still find some wheezy old postboy or helper, who clings about the old place, and who is but too happy to tell about its former bustle and grandeur. There is a very aged lady who still posts up from London into Wales, and returns once every year; she changes horses at the Four Crosses, and until about six years ago, (this was written in 1861), an old Irish nobleman posted up the same way to Holyhead." It is to be hoped that Mr. Duignan will give the result of his interesting researches to the public.

the statement that, "as the stage coaches to Chester miss Lichfield and pass through Newport and Whitchurch in Shropshire, so on the other hand horsemen will sometimes ride by Northampton, and carts keep the Watling Street." And again Ogilby, speaking of the Watling Street, explains how, in one instance, it became abandoned, informing us that "this way having passed Dowbridge, where it leaves Northamptonshire, is first interrupted by the river Swift. The bridge over which this road was heretofore continued, they call Bransford Bridge. It was a long time broken down, and that occasioned this famous way [the Watling Street] to be for many years little frequented, but now it is repaired at the charge of the public." Several attempts were made in the latter half of the last century to establish a service of stage coaches along the still older road by way of Bridgnorth, through Worcester and Oxford, to London.

Another principal Roman road in Shropshire, the southern Watling Street, has also undergone its variations, though on the whole less considerable. As it started from Uriconium, our Anglo-Saxon forefathers were obliged to take a road from Shrewsbury, which also was perhaps a Roman road, (for under the Romans this part of Shropshire seems to have been traversed by a multitude of roads in every direction,) which joined the Watling Street at the entrance of the Stretton valley, and thence the Watling Street appears to have been the high road until it approached Hereford, where the road separated from it, and went to this latter place, where there was an important ford over the river Wye, instead of continuing with the Roman road to the ruins of Magna, or Kenchester. The importance of this road is proved by the fact that upon it the west Saxon king Edward, the son and successor of Alfred, built in 921 the fortress of Wigmore, as a check upon the incursions of the Danes upon the border, which was the same route—that is, the great Roman road,—taken by the barbarians who had ravaged the Roman province,

for this was looked upon as the key to Shropshire from the south; and that at a much earlier period the Mercian king Merewald had established his palace at Kingsland, which was close to it. There appears also to have been a branch from the Watling Street running near Ludlow, and in the direction of Hereford, on which Merewald established the nunnery of Leominster, and near which king Offa had his palace, in which the east Saxon king Ethelbert was murdered, and the intrenchments of which are now called Sutton Walls. At some period, probably about the time of the Norman Conquest, when the border was more subject to the incursions of the Welsh in some parts, travellers seem to have found the road between the country south of the Stretton valley and Wigmore no longer safe, and they left it near Onibury, and, turning more towards England, went by way of Bromfield, and on the opposite side of the river Teme from Ludlow, and so passing over the hill and through the wood by way of Maryknoll, joining the Watling Street again at Wigmore. From the tumuli which border this route, it also was probably a road in the Roman period. To it no doubt we owe the importance of Wigmore Castle during the Norman period, and it was to command it, where it passed near the river Teme, that a still more important castle in subsequent history, that of Ludlow, was built towards the end of the eleventh century, probably by the great family of the Lacies. This road also was soon abandoned for the other road just mentioned, which was the road taken by Giraldus Cambrensis, when, in the year 1188, on his return from Wales with Archbishop Baldwin, he tells us that leaving Wenlock he "passed by the little cell of Brumfield, the noble castle of Ludlow, through Leominster, to Hereford." People had thus been abandoning the main line of the Roman road to adopt successively different branch or secondary roads. Giraldus, on quitting Shrewsbury, had gone out of his way to visit the monastic establishment of Wenlock, and thence seems to have returned across to the Watling Street, to

follow it down the Stretton valley. At that time the road from Shrewsbury to Wenlock was in a very bad condition, and was called by some name which Giraldus translates into Latin by (*mala platea*), and which may again be translated into English by the *evil-street.* "From Shrewsbury," he says, "we continued our journey towards Wenlock by a narrow and rugged way called Evil-street *(mala platea,)* where, in our time, a Jew travelling with the archdeacon of the place, whose name was Sin, and the dean, whose name was Devil, towards Shrewsbury, hearing the archdeacon say that his archdeaconry began at a place called Evil-street, and extended as far as Malpas, *(Malus passus)* towards Chester, jokingly told them, it would be a miracle if his fate brought him safe out of a country, the archdeacon of which was sin, the dean the devil, the entrance to the archdeaconry evil street, and its exit bad pass."* The road described last has continued to be the coach road from Shrewsbury to Hereford until the present day.

* Giraldus Cambrensis, Itinerar. Cambr. lib. ii. cap. i.

CHAPTER II.

THE CITY OF URICONIUM—ITS HISTORY, WALLS, AND INTERNAL ARRANGEMENT.

THE statements of the writers of antiquity, who speak of our island, would lead us to disbelieve that the Britons, before the arrival of the Romans, possessed anything resembling what we call a town, or that Roman towns were founded upon previously existing British towns. Uriconium probably came into existence at the time when Ostorius Scapula was building towns and fortresses to establish the Roman power on our border. It is first mentioned in the Geography of Ptolemy, believed to have been compiled about the year 120, who enumerated it, under the name of Viroconium, as one of the two towns in the district of the Cornavii, Deva, the station of the twentieth legion, being the other, and gives as its longitude 16° 45', and as its latitude 55° 45', according to his mode of reckoning. Very few relics have been found which, even by the imagination, can be carried back to this remote period of Uriconian history.* The name does not again occur during two hundred years. The Itinerary of Antoninus, believed to have been compiled about the year 320, mentions this town

* Among a quantity of silver coins found on the site of Uriconium, and now in the possession of Mr. W. H. Oatley, of Wroxeter, are a Celtish (apparently Gaulish) and a Roman consular coin. The former is of the same type as some gold coins found in Kent, and represented in Mr. Roach Smith's *Collectanea Antiqua*, vol. i. pl. vii. figs. 1 to 6. The other coin is one of the most common consular denarii, which were no doubt in circulation during a long period; and this also was doubtless the case with these Celtic coins, which appear to belong to the earliest period of the Roman domination. A bronze dagger, or two-edged knife, similar to those which are found in the barrows of Wiltshire, and of other districts, which are generally supposed to be British, but which probably belong to the early Roman period, is said to have been found at Wroxeter. Of this I shall speak more fully in a subsequent chapter.

twice, and gives us the means of identifying its site with certainty. It appears first in the second *iter* in Britain, beginning from the borders of Scotland, and passing by way of Deva, (Chester,) Bovium, Mediolanum, Rutunium, our city which is here called Uroconium, Uxacona, and other towns, the sites of which are mostly well known, and so to London, and to Richborough. It is the line of the great and well-known Watling Street. In the second *iter* in which it occurs, and in which it is called Viroconium, as in Ptolemy, it is the termination of a road which comes from Isca (Caerleon), by way of Gobannium (Abergavenny,) Magna (Kenchester,) and Bravinium; or in other words, it was the place at which this road joined the Watling Street. Now there can be no doubt that the road just mentioned is the one which, called also along the border the Watling Street, proceeds northward, until it joins the other road at Wroxeter, and thus determines, without leaving room for question, the remains which are found at Wroxeter to be the ruins of Uriconium.

These are the only instances in which the name of Uriconium is mentioned in writers contemporary with its existence. In that curious work, the compilation of the anonymous geographer of Ravenna, which is ascribed to the seventh century, but the author of which had no doubt an ancient map before his eyes, our city appears among a confused list of names of towns, under that of Utriconion Cornoninorum, an evident error for Uriconion Cornoviorum. In another Itinerary, but one in the authenticity of which I fear we can place no trust, that given in the work *De Situ Britanniæ* published under the name of Richard of Cirencester, this town occurs first on the Watling Street, under the name of Virioconium, and subsequently at the point of junction of the other Watling Street, under the name of Urioconio, just as in the Itinerary of Antoninus, from whom the author of this work may have copied. But Richard does more than this, for in an earlier part of the book our city is stated, under the name of Uriconium, to

have been "the mother of the other towns" of the district of the Carnabii, and to have been considered one of the largest cities in Britain.†

Thus the name of our ancient town occurs during four hundred years under two different forms, Uriconium and Viroconium, and as the difference may have arisen entirely from the errors of the scribes to whom we owe the existing manuscripts in which they occur, it would be difficult to decide which is correct. Possibly Viroconium may have been the earlier form, and it may have been gradually changed into Uriconium, and as the latter has been most commonly used by antiquaries, I shall adopt it in the present volume. The derivation of the names of the spot, both ancient and modern, has also been a subject of discussion. It is my own belief that the names of the Roman towns in Britain were given to them by the colonists, and that, except where they take their names from the rivers on which they stood, they were, as is the case in America and in the British and other colonies in all parts of the world, of foreign origin. Yet, as the far-famed Wrekin stands within five miles to the eastward of Uriconium, and presents itself as the most conspicuous object in the neighbourhood, the town may have received its name from the mountain, if the latter name be as old as the British period. The modern, or Saxon, name of the place, Wroxeter, has been supposed to be a mere corruption of the ancient name, representing literally the Latin words, *Uriconii castram*; but, as I shall state a little further on, considerations connected with the history of the locality, lead me to think it perhaps more probable that the modern name is derived directly from that of the Wrekin.

The time at which Uriconium was destroyed, the manner in which it perished, and the people who destroyed it, have also been in turn subjects of dispute. The last of these

† Et reliquarum mater Uriconium, quæ inter Britanniæ civitates maximas nomen possidebat.—*Ricardi Cicestrensis de situ Britanniæ*, p. 395, in the volume of Historical Documents published by Dr. Giles.

questions cannot, with our present amount of knowledge, be answered with any certainty. Our excavations have proved beyond a doubt that the town was taken by force, that a frightful massacre of the inhabitants followed, and that it was then plundered and burnt. Remains of men, women, and children, are found everywhere scattered among the ruins, and the traces of burning are not only met with in all parts of them, but the whole of the soil within the walls of the ancient city is blackened by it to such a degree as to present a very marked contrast to the lighter colour of the earth outside. Discoveries made during the excavations seem to clear up satisfactorily the more important question as to the period at which Uriconium was destroyed. Early in the course of the excavations the skeleton of an old man was found in one of the hypocausts of the Baths, and close to him lay a heap of coins, which had been contained in a small wooden casket, and which the man had evidently carried with him when he fled from the massacrers. These coins, all copper but one, and in number a hundred and thirty-two, belonged to the following emperors:

TETRICUS	1
CLAUDIUS GOTHICUS	1
CONSTANTINE THE GREAT	13
CONSTANS	1
CONSTANTINE II.	36
CONSTANTIUS II.	5
JULIAN	1
HELENA	2
THEODORA	1
URBS ROMA	24
CONSTANTINOPOLIS	34
VALENS	1
MINIMI	6
DECOMPOSED	6
Total number	132

All this was, of course, money in circulation in Uriconium at the time it was destroyed. On a subsequent occasion, another small heap of thirty-eight coins was found at the

entrance of what appeared to be the shop of a worker in metal, or perhaps of enamel, where they had evidently been dropped by a citizen in his eagerness to escape. They had been placed in a small vessel of earthenware, the fragments of which were scattered around. These coins were—

CARACALLA, (a Silver Denarius)	1
SEVERUS ALEXANDER, (a Plated Denarius)	1
MAXIMUS, (Second Brass)	1
GALLIENUS	2
SALONINA, (Copper, washed with Silver)	1
POSTUMUS	1
VICTORINUS	8
TETRICUS	3
CLAUDIUS GOTHICUS	2
CARAUSIUS	1
THE CONSTANTINE FAMILY	12
VALENTINIAN	1
GRATIAN (A.D. 375 to 383)	1
A *MINIMUS*	1
DECOMPOSED	2
Total number	38

From these lists it will be seen that the mass of the money in use in the city of Uriconium at the time of its destruction consisted of the coinage of the emperors of the Constantine family, and, as most of it appears to have been very fresh from the mint, it cannot have been long in circulation. It has been supposed that the dies of this coinage were kept in Gaul, and that quantities of it continued to be imported into Britain down to the time of the withdrawal of the imperial government, for they are found in abundance in all parts of our island formerly occupied by the Romans. A more interesting class of coins are those to which, from their generally diminutive size, numismatists have given the name of *minimi*, and which were evidently in circulation, though not perhaps in large quantities, in Uriconium. They are very rude imitations of the Roman coinage of the Constantine family, and, as they do not resemble the Anglo-Saxon coinage which soon followed that of the Romans and at first consisted also of imitations of the coins of the family

of Constantine, they are believed to have been struck by the towns soon after the withdrawal of the Roman government, to supply the want of a small coinage. They are found in the Roman towns in the south of Britain, under circumstances which leave no room to doubt that they are rightly placed between the coins of the Romans and those of the Saxons, and therefore they cannot have ranged over any long period of time ;* and we are justified in concluding, from this and other circumstances, that the city of Uriconium was destroyed at some period between the withdrawal of the Roman government from the island and the commencement of the Anglo-Saxon period, that is, probably between about the year 420 and the middle of the fifth century. It may be added that, with the exception of these *minimi*, no object has yet been found among the ruins of Uriconium which is not perfectly Roman in character.

Other opinions have, however, been held on the date of the destruction of Uriconium, and one of these is supported upon what appears at first sight to be very direct evidence. According to the Welsh annals, there lived in the sixth century a prince of Powys named Cynddylan, whose supposed brother-in-law,† Llywarch Hen, one of the princes of Cumbria, was, according to the Welsh authorities, one of their bardic poets. Driven from his home in Cumbria by the conquests of the Angles, Llywarch is said to have taken shelter at the court of his brother-in-law, and among the pretended relics of this early bard, there is an Elegy on Cynddylan ascribed to him. According to this Elegy, the Saxons invaded Shropshire in the time of Cynddylan, who had his residence at Shrewsbury, and that prince was slain with his brothers in defending Uriconium against the invaders, who defeated the Britons,

* I shall have to return to the subject of these *minimi* in a future chapter, in speaking of the coins found at Wroxeter.

† I quote from Mr. Joseph Morris's paper on Llywarch Hen, printed in the Archæologia Cambrensis for 1859, for it was he who first pointed out the real events intended to be described in this Elegy, namely, the destruction of Uriconium. I have also used William Owen's edition of the poems of Llywarch Hen.

took the town, and burnt it. He calls Cynddylan "the protector of Tren," the name the bard gives to Uriconium, and laments that "Cynddylan has been slain, as well as Cynvraith (one of his brothers), in defending Tren, a town laid waste.—Great is my woe, that I survive their death!"

Llâs Cynddylan, llâs Cynvreith,
Yn amwyn Tren, trev ddifaith.—
Gwae vi vawr araws eu llaith!

"Henceforth," he adds, "Tren shall be called the flaming town."

Rhy gelwir Tren trev llethrid.

Uriconium, according to this bard, was remarkable for its ale, for he speaks of the liberality of Cynddylan in giving "the ale of Tren" *(cwrwv Tren.)* All this, and much more in the poem itself, appears so circumstantial, that if it were written by a Llywarch Hen, who lived at the time and was present at the events he relates, we must necessarily accept it as historical truth; but, unfortunately, whoever composed it has been too eager to enter into particular details, and his blunders have thus betrayed the forgery. I will not dwell upon the fact that the whole Elegy is written in a form of verse which was only introduced by the Normans in the twelfth century, but let us proceed at once to the details of the story. The Elegy tells us that Cynddylan, thus slain in defending his territory, was buried at Baschurch.—"The churches of Bassa afford space to-night to the offspring of Cyndrwyn; the gravehouse of fair Cynddylan."

Eglwysau Bassa ynt wng heno,
I etioedd Cyndrwyn;
Mablan Cynddylan wyn.

Now, as Mr. Eyton has already observed,* Bassa is an Anglo-Saxon name, and Bassa's church was an Anglo-Saxon foundation, and, as Christianity was only established in Mercia in the year 655,† this church could not have existed within

* Antiquities of Shropshire, vol. x. p. 130.
† See the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle under this year.

a hundred years after the period at which Llywarch Hen is supposed to have written. Again, the bard speaks of Withington as the scene of one encounter with the Saxons, and calls it "the white town in the cultivated plain,"—

Y drev wen yn y tymmys,

and "the white town between the Tern and the Roden."

Y drev wen rhwng Tren a Trodwydd.

Here we have again a purely Anglo-Saxon name, which could not therefore have existed in this locality in the time of Llywarch Hen, and there is moreover a blunder in the interpretation of it. The name has no relation whatever to *white*, for Withington simply means in Anglo-Saxon the *tun*, or residence, of the family of the Withingas or Wittingas, and the blunder of our poet could not have been made until after the middle of the twelfth century, when the Anglo-Saxon language began to be broken up, and the rage for ingenious derivations began to come in. The writer of this Elegy further tells us that, "the sod of Ercall is on the ashes of fierce men, of the progeny of Morial."

Tywargen Ercal ar âr dywal
Wyr, o edwel Morial.

This is also an Anglo-Saxon name, and the bard seems not to have been aware that the modern name Ercal was only a corruption of the original name of Ercalewe, or Arcalewe, meaning of course Erca's-low, and this name is constantly found from the time of the Domesday Survey to near the end of the fourteenth century, before which period the corrupted form of the word could hardly have been used. A writer of the age ascribed to Llywarch Hen, could not have known the name at all, and if he had written at any time after the name existed, and before the fourteenth century, he would have known it better. The elegy-writer had a hostile feeling towards another people, beside the Saxons—in commemorating the pride and courage of one of his heroes, Garanmael, he says—

Ni gafai Franc tanc o'i ben,

which William Owen, who edited Llywarch Hen's poems, translates, "From his mouth the Frank would not get the word of peace." Owen was puzzled with this passage, and sought to get over it by supposing, rather innocently, that a body of Franks had come over with the Saxons to help to destroy Uriconium; but there can be very little doubt that the Franks here spoken of were the Frenchmen or Anglo-Normans, and that the enemies whom the minstrel would deprive of peace were simply the Norman lords marchers. I go on to a still stronger proof of the ignorance of the writer. Had Uriconium been in existence at the time when Llywarch Hen flourished, it would no doubt have been well known by its proper name, but the writer of the Elegy was entirely ignorant of its name, and perhaps because we cross the Tern and not the Severn in going to it from Shrewsbury, he seems to have thought that it stood upon the banks of the former, and he called it Tern, or Tren, after the smaller stream, from which it is distant more than half-a-mile, not aware that it really stood on the banks of the much larger and more important river Severn. In fact it is evident that this Elegy was composed by some Welsh minstrel, who knew something of the country as it appeared in the fourteenth or fifteenth century, and of the names by which the places were then called, and who was aware that on the other side of the river Tern from Shrewsbury there existed the remains of a great city, which, according to the tradition, had been captured by enemies and burnt, but knew nothing more about it. The rest he probably invented, and his authority on the question of the date at which the town was destroyed, or on the manner in which that catastrophe was brought about, is therefore worthless.

We are informed in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, that, in the year 584, the West-Saxon kings Ceawlin and Cutha "fought against the Britons at the place which is named Fethanleag, and Cutha was there slain; and Ceawlin took many towns,

and countless booty; and wrathful he thence returned to his own." An antiquary, who identifies Fethanleag with Faddiley in Cheshire, has suggested that it was on this expedition that the West-Saxons advanced into Shropshire, and attacked and destroyed Uriconium. But this is a mere hasty conjecture, improbable, unsupported by any evidence, and contrary even to the spirit of the account given by the Chronicle itself, from which it is clear that the taking of the towns was the consequence of and followed the battle, and had the Saxons in their way to Fethanleag destroyed a vast town like Uriconium it is hardly likely that the chronicler, who remembered so well the name of an obscure place like Fethanleag, should have forgotten so great an exploit as the destruction of Uriconium.

Another suggestion on this subject deserves to be mentioned, because it involves some curious notices relating to the early history of this part of Shropshire. A charter has been preserved, by which Burhred, king of Mercia, in the year 855, made a grant of lands to Alhun bishop of Worcester, and his monks,* and it is stated at the end that this charter was made "in the place which is called Oswaldesdun, when the pagans (*i. e.* the Danes) were in Wreocensetun," (or, more correctly, Wreocensetum.)† It has been suggested that Wreocensetum meant Wroxeter, and that the old town might even at that late date have been inhabited. This suggestion, however, is founded on a misinterpretation of the word. The Anglo-Saxon word *sætas* was applied to the inhabitants not of a town, but of a country or district. Thus *dun-sætas* was the word for dwellers in the mountains—mountaineers, and *den-sætas* for dwellers in valleys; *Dorn-sætas* were the people of the district of Dorn, now called Dorset; and so *Sumur-sætas*, were the inhabitants of the country of Sumur, now called Somerset. Just in the same

* Alhuno et ejus familiæ in Ueogerna civitate.

† Gesta est autem hujus libertatis donatum anno dominicæ incarnationis DCCC. LV, indictione IIIa, in loco qui vocatur Osuualdesdun, quando fuerunt pagani in Uureocensetun. The document is printed in Kemble's Codex Diplomaticus, vol. ii. p. 58.

manner, the *Wreocen-sætas* were the population of the district of the Wrekin, and the meaning of the words of the charter are that, at the time it was made, the Danes had got possession of the country round the Wrekin, and were no doubt plundering it, while king Burhred and what remained with him of the Mercian army occupied Oswaldesdun, one of the old names of Oswestry. The Wreocen-sætas, or, as they are there called, the Wrocen-sætas, are mentioned in another Anglo-Saxon charter, of a somewhat later date, and there they are plainly stated to be the inhabitants of a province. King Edgar, in the year 963, granted to his minister Wulfric, "six manses in the province of the Wrocen-sætas, in two places which are called Plesc and Eastun."* Plesc is no doubt Plaish, or Plash, a township in the parish of Cardington, so that the district of the Wrekin-sætas must have extended to a very considerable distance from the hill; and this is an interesting circumstance, because it shows not only the celebrity of the Wrekin at this early period, but it, as well as the whole tenor of the statement in the older charter, seems to prove that Shrewsbury was not yet a place of any importance. It would appear indeed that, for some reason or other which we cannot now explain, the Wrekin had from the earliest period been considered by the Anglo-Saxons so remarkable a mountain, that the people of the greater part of Shropshire were known by their proximity to it as the Wrekin-sætas, and probably, but for the vast power and importance of the Norman earldom of Shrewsbury, our county would now have been called Wrekinsetshire instead of Shropshire. This explains also the peculiar force of our native patriotic toast to "all friends round the Wrekin," meaning all Shropshire people, derived continuously perhaps from the reverence paid to the mountain in the remote ages of Anglo-Saxon England. And I am inclined also to think that it explains the modern name of the ancient city of which I am trying to write the history. When the

* vi. mansas in provincia Wrocensetna in duobus locis quæ sic vocitantur Plesc et Eastun. Kemble, Codex Diplomaticus, vol. vi. p. 60.

Anglo-Saxons came into this district, it can hardly have been remembered that the mass of uninhabited ruins was once called Uriconium; but if the Wrekin gave its name to the country and its inhabitants, we can easily understand that a vast ruined Roman site like this, recognised at once as the *castrum*, or *chester*, of the district, would become known as the chester of the district of the Wreocon-seatas, the Wreocon-ceaster, or Wroxeter. To return, however, to the Saxon charter last mentioned, it may be added that there is an Aston in Munslow parish, some six miles to the south of Plaish, which may possibly be the Eastun of the charter; and there is another place of the same name under the Wrekin, but the description of the boundaries would lead us to believe that the two places were near together.

We thus see that there is no evidence whatever to contradict that which we derive from the discoveries made in excavating in relation to the date of the destruction of Uriconium, and that it is therefore not at all probable that the Roman town was destroyed by the Anglo-Saxons. It is my belief that the first Angle or Saxon who entered this district after the Roman period found the site of Uriconium covered with a mere mass of mouldering ruins, over which herbage and brushwood were already beginning to spread themselves, and it remained in this condition until long after the Norman period. At a time when the country was so thinly inhabited as Shropshire must have been in Anglo-Saxon times, people had little inducement to attempt to clear away old ruins, and there were circumstances in the superstitions of our forefathers which assisted in protecting them. They believed that ancient ruins, especially when extensive, were taken possession of by powerful evil spirits, on whose limits it was in the highest degree dangerous to trespass; and this was perhaps one cause why the Watling Street, which ran through the ruins of the town, was abandoned. No person would have ventured along it after dusk, even if the road had been turned so as to pass near the town, though

outside. The ruined sites thus became gradually the subject of strange legends, and a very wild legend has been accidentally preserved connected with the ruins of Uriconium. A Norman minstrel of the thirteenth century, who composed in verse the history of the Fitz-Warines, and who was well acquainted with Shropshire localities, though he was just as ignorant of the history of Uriconium or its name as the composer of the Elegy on the death of Cynddylan, has introduced, in his narrative, the legend to which I allude. With regard to the origin of this legend, it may be remarked that it must have been formed after the period when the British story, as told by Geoffrey of Monmouth, had become popular, and therefore hardly before the end of the twelfth century; it may have been partly made up by the poet himself, but it is sufficiently curious, in regard to the ruins of the ancient city, to induce me to give it in a literal translation of the words of the original.* William the Conqueror, according to our minstrel, marched to the Welsh border to take possession of the land, and distribute it among his followers. "When king William approached the hills and valleys of Wales, he saw a very large town, formerly inclosed with high walls, which was all burnt and ruined; and in a plain below the town he caused his tents to be raised, and there he said he would remain that night. [The place which the poet had in view may be supposed to have been the vale of the Severn, on the opposite side of the river from Wroxeter.] Then the king inquired of a Briton what was the name of the town, and how it came to be so ruined. 'Sir,' said the Briton, 'I will tell you. The castle was formerly called Castle Bran; but now it is called the Old March. Formerly there came into this country Brutus, a very valiant knight, and Corineus, from whom Cornwall has still its name, and many others derived from the lineage of Troy; and none inhabited this country except very foul

* The History of Fulk Fitz-Warine, an outlawed Baron in the reign of king John, edited by Thomas Wright, p. 5. When I edited this book I thought that the site of this legend might be Old Oswestry, but I have since become convinced that it must belong to Wroxeter. It was after passing the ancient city, that William, according to the story, marched towards Oswestry.

people, great giants, whose king was called Geomagog. These heard of the arrival of Brutus, and set out to encounter him; and at last all the giants were killed, except Geomagog, who was marvellously great. Corineus the valiant said that he would willingly wrestle with Geomagog, to try Geomagog's strength. The giant at the first onset embraced Corineus so tightly that he broke three of his ribs. Corineus became angry, and struck Geomagog with his foot, that he fell from a great rock into the sea; and Geomagog was drowned. And a spirit of the devil now entered the body of Geomagog, and came into these parts, and held possession of the country long, that never Briton dared to inhabit it. And long after, king Bran, the son of Donwal, caused the city to be rebuilt, repaired the walls, and strengthened the great fosses; and he made Burgh and Great March; and the devil came by night, and took away everything that was therein; since which time nobody has ever inhabited there.' The king marvelled much at this story; and Payn Peverel, the proud and courageous knight, the king's cousin, heard it all, and declared that that night he would assay the marvel. Payn Peverel armed himself very richly, and took his shield shining with gold with a cross of azure indented, and fifteen knights, and other attendants; and went into the highest palace, and took up his lodgings there. And when it was night, the weather became so foul, black, dark, and such a tempest of lightning and thunder, that all those that were there became so terrified that they could not for fear move foot or hand, but lay on the ground like dead men. The proud Payn was very much frightened, but he put his trust in God, whose sign of the cross he carried with him, and saw that he should have no help but from God. He lay upon the ground, and with good devotion prayed God and his mother Mary that they would defend him that night from the power of the devil. Hardly had he finished his prayer, when the fiend came in the semblance of Geomagog; and he carried a great club in his hand, and from his mouth

cast fire, and smoke with which the whole town was illuminated. Payn had good trust in God, and signed himself with the cross, and boldly attacked the fiend. The fiend raised his club, and would have struck Payn, but he avoided the blow. The devil, by virtue of the cross, was all struck with fear and lost his strength; for he could not approach the cross. Payn pursued him, till he struck him with his sword that he began to cry out, and fell flat on the ground, and yielded himself vanquished. 'Knight,' said he, 'You have conquered me, not by your own strength, but by virtue of the cross which you carry.' 'Tell me,' said Payn, 'you foul creature, who you are, and what you do in this town, I conjure thee in the name of God and of the holy cross.' The fiend began to relate, from word to word, as the Briton had said before, and told that, when Geomagog was dead, he immediately rendered his soul to Beelzebub their prince; and he entered the body of Geomagog, and came in his semblance into these parts, to keep the great treasure which Geomagog had collected and put in a house he had made underground in that town. Payn demanded of him what kind of creature he was; and he said that he was formerly an angel, but now is by his forfeit a diabolical spirit. 'What treasure,' said Payn, 'had Geomagog?' 'Oxen, cows, swans, peacocks, horses, and all other animals, made of fine gold; and there was a golden bull, which through me was his prophet, and in him was all his belief; and he told him the events that were to come. And twice a-year the giants used to honour their god, the golden bull, whereby so much gold is collected that it is wonderful. And afterwards it happened that all this country was called the White Laund, and I and my companions enclosed the laund with a high wall and deep foss, so that there was no entrance except through this town, which was full of evil spirits; and in the laund we made jousts and tournaments; and many came to see the marvels, but never one escaped. At length came a disciple of Jesus, who was called Augustine, and by his preaching took many

from us, and baptized people, and made a chapel in his name; whereby great trouble happened to us.' 'Now you shall tell me,' said Payn, 'where is the treasure of which you have spoken?' 'Vassal,' said he, 'speak no more of that; for it is destined for others.' . . . When the spirit had said this, he issued out of the body; and there arose such a stink, that Payn thought he should have died through it. And when it was past, the night became light, and the weather fair; and the knights and others, who were overcome with fear, recovered themselves; and they marvelled much at the event which had happened to them. Next day the affair was told to the king and to all the host. And the king caused the body of Geomagog to be carried and thrown into a deep pit outside the town; and he caused the club to be preserved, and long showed it to many people on account of its marvellous magnitude."

Such is at least one known legend connected with the ruins of Uriconium. The belief in the giants appears to have continued till a comparatively modern period, for in the additions to Camden's Britannia in Gibson's translation, repeated in the Magna Britannia, the volume of which containing Shropshire was published in 1727, we are gravely informed, speaking of the ancient inhabitants of Uriconium, that "in searching into their places of interment, there have been taken out of the jaw-bones of men, teeth near three inches long, and three inches about, and thigh-bones have been lately found by the inhabitants full a yard long!"* The legend given in the history of the Fitz-Warines would lead us to believe that much

* The only legends relating to Wroxeter which I have been able to pick up among the peasantry of the present day, are two—one relating to a well said to lie buried at the side of the Bell Brook, on the northern side of the Watling-Street road, near where it crosses it, in which vast treasures are believed to be buried, and the circumstance is commemorated in a popular rhyme:—

"Near the brook of Bell,
There is a well,
Which is richer than any man can tell."

And another, according to which the city of Uriconium was destroyed by sparrows—for, when the assailants found it impossible to break through the walls of the town, they collected all the sparrows in the country, tied lighted matches to their tails, and let them fly, and they all settled on the thatched roofs of the houses, and thus set fire to the whole town, and the enemy entered in the midst of the confusion. Both these legends are found on the sites of other ancient towns. When I was first at Wroxeter to watch the excavations, one of the inhabitants came to me and offered to conduct me to the field where the sparrows were let loose.

of the walls of the town and houses of Uriconium were still standing above ground as late as the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and perhaps a considerable portion of them remained thus standing at the time when the author of that history wrote. But during the centuries which had passed since the Roman city had become a ruin, the site had been undergoing a gradual but continual change, arising from the accumulation of earth, which no doubt was here greater then usual through the extreme lightness of the surface soil. This rising of the level of the ground is always found to have taken place under such circumstances, and may be explained without difficulty. In the first place, the floors must have been covered with a mass of rubbish formed by the falling in of the roofs and more perishable parts of the buildings. Vegetation, too, would arise in the course of years, and the walls would stop and cause to be deposited the dust and earthy particles carried about in the atmosphere. This deposit we know by experience to be considerable, for, though it is little more than three centuries since the dissolution of the monasteries, yet the floors of the monastic houses now lie under a depth of earth sometimes amounting to as much as three feet. Thus in the twelfth century, that is after the ruins of Uriconium had lain perhaps undisturbed during seven centuries, we can imagine how deep the floors lay under the surface of the soil. It was at this period that the Roman buildings began to be systematically destroyed. There is reason for believing that in the twelfth century, England was covered with the remains of Roman ruined towns and villas still standing above ground, which now became so many quarries of materials for buildings of a different description. We have seen the superstitious feelings which prevented men from approaching these ruins, and especially from disturbing them, and it required nothing less than the hand of the church to interfere and break the charm which held the rest of society aloof. The twelfth century was especially the age of building the great Anglo-

Norman abbeys and priories, and it became the practice to break up the old buildings within reach to supply building materials. From that time the Roman ruins were pillaged whenever a monastery or a church was to be built. The ancient city at Wroxeter was probably one of the great quarries from which the builders of Haughmond Abbey, of Buildwas, perhaps of Shrewsbury Abbey, and other monastic houses in this part of the country, were supplied. The churches of Wroxeter and the adjoining parish of Atcham still bear evidence to this appropriation of Roman building materials. At the time when this inroad was made upon the ruins, the ground, as explained above, was already raised several feet above the Roman floors; and the mediæval builders, finding plenty of material above ground, cleared away the walls down to the surface of the ground as it then existed, and sought them no further. This accounts for the condition in which we now find these walls, for they remain tolerably perfect just up to the height of what was the level of the ground at the time the ruins above ground were cleared away. The difference between the tops of the walls as they now exist under ground, and the present surface of the ground, is the accumulation of earth which has taken place since this destruction. It was the demolition of the walls which first contributed to this accumulation, by scattering about fragments of the plaster of the walls, and the broken tiles and stones which were not worth carrying away. After the walls above ground disappeared, and the ground was levelled and cleared, such accumulation went on much more slowly. The neglect to observe these two distinct series of accumulations has led sometimes to rather curious mistakes, and it may be remarked that in the account of a former partial excavation at Wroxeter, published in the Archæologia of the Society of Antiquaries, the writer has fallen upon the very odd notion that the Roman town had been burnt twice,—that he saw the layers of burnt materials from two successive burnings.

The sites of the ancient towns thus cleared, and the spell which held their invaders at bay having been broken by the mediæval ecclesiastics, they became exposed to a new class of depredators. Coins, and objects of some value, were not unfrequently met with by accident, and their value was greatly exaggerated by common report, during the ages when the existence of hidden treasures formed a prominent article in the popular belief. Many a Salopian, doubtless, longed for the hidden treasures of the city of Geomagog, and many an attempt no doubt was made to discover and obtain them. Treasure-hunting of this description was a great pursuit with our mediæval forefathers, and the same superstitious feelings were connected with it, which, in the minds of our ignorant progenitors, were attached to all remains of remote antiquity. The treasure-hunter rarely ventured on his search without having first secured the aid of a magician for his protection as well as for his guidance, for the same evil spirits were believed still to haunt the ruins underground, and it was supposed that by the power of the conjurer they might not only be rendered harmless, but be made to give information as to the exact spot where the treasure lay. An old manuscript chronicle of the monks of Worcester, which is printed in Wharton's Anglia Sacra, and has preserved numerous notices of events which occurred on our borders, informs us that in the year 1287, at a place by Wroxeter called Bilebury, the fiend was compelled by a certain enchanter to appear to a certain lad, and show him where lay buried "urns, and a ship, and a house, with an immense quantity of gold." We easily recognize in the objects enumerated by the false Geomagog, though not in the material, some of the numerous figures in bronze which are from time to time found on Roman sites, and the urns and ship may perhaps admit of a similar explanation. The treasure-diggers had, however, sometimes to encounter a worse opponent than even the fiend himself. Treasure-trove belonged to the feudal lord, and it was a right which he was inclined to enforce with the utmost severity; and the unfortu-

nate individual who was caught in the act of trespassing against it found his way immediately into a feudal dungeon, from which escape was not always easy or quick. The historian of our county, Mr. Eyton, has met with a record from which we learn that, towards the close of the thirteenth century, some individuals were thus caught "digging" for a treasure at Wroxeter, and that they were taken and thrown into prison. On their examination or trial, however, it appeared that, though they had dug for a treasure, they had not found one, and on this plea they had the good fortune to be set at liberty.

After the ruins had been broken up by the ecclesiastical builders, the site of Uriconium probably remained a neglected piece of ground, which was soon overgrown with trees and brushwood, which, in fact, was the usual case with such places. When Leland passed by it, in the time of Henry VIII., he appears, to judge by the few words which he bestows upon Wroxeter, to have supposed that there was nothing to be seen, for he merely remarks that, "Roxcester was a goodly walled towne untill it was destroyed by the Danes." The popular notion, which ascribed all destruction to the Danes, continued to exist in the time of Camden, who published his Britannia in the reign of queen Elizabeth. The site appears then to have been cleared for agricultural purposes, and Camden informs us that there were no remains of the ancient town visible, except certain walls which the inhabitants of the village called "The olde worke of Wroxceter." * This was no doubt the same piece of building still known as the Old Wall, which will be described in a subsequent chapter. It has remained much in the same condition down to the present time; but, though the Old Wall was the only piece of Roman building visible above ground, it was easy to see that buildings lay under the surface, both by the unevenness of the ground, and by the appearance of the crops in dry weather; and

* Sed quia nihil jam præter parietinas cernitur, quas *the olde worke of Wroxceter* indigitant incolæ. Camden, Britan. 8vo. ed. p. 474.

especially the line of the town wall may be traced by a ridge strongly marked round its whole circuit, except on the side of the river.

The length of this line of wall has been roughly estimated at between three and four miles, and its course is in every respect extremely irregular. The site of the ancient city was remarkably well chosen, for it occupied the boldest piece of elevated ground on the banks of the Severn in this neighbourhood, where it commanded the rich vale of Shrewsbury. Along a considerable portion of the western side, from the ford at the Watling Street road northward to the turn of the river towards the west, the ground rises from the bank of the Severn in a steep and in some parts almost precipitous bank, of considerable elevation, especially at the southern end, where it is hardly less than a hundred feet above the level of the plain. Where the wall leaves the river to make a sweep round towards the hamlet of Norton, the ground falls gradually to the stream called the Bell Brook, and then becomes uneven, though rising from the brook in banks to the northward. Through the fields to the south-east the mound which covers the remains of the town wall is remarkably bold. Within these walls the ground which the ancient city occupied rises, though not rapidly, from the bank overlooking the river towards the north-east until it reaches its greatest elevation in the field marked D in our general plan of the site of Uriconium. Hence it sinks gradually towards the village, and more abruptly towards the Bell Brook, from which it rises again towards the north, so that Uriconium stood upon two hills, with a stream running in the bottom between them. From the form of the ground this stream must always have run in its present course through the city of Uriconium, and in the time of the Romans it was probably more considerable than at present.

The greatness of the extent covered by the city of Uriconium will be best understood by the plan in our plate, in

which it is laid down on the same scale with those of the other great towns on our border, of which we have any means of tracing the circuit of the walls. To the north, Chester, the Roman Deva, was not only the head-quarters of one of the three legions which formed the military occupation of Britain, but it was evidently an important commercial town; its mediæval walls, which remain around the whole town, appear to have been identical with the Roman line of circumvallation, for, as will be shewn further on, the primitive Roman masonry remains visible in several parts of it. There are no remains of the Roman towns between Chester and Wroxeter, or between the latter and Kenchester, near Hereford. This latter site represents the Roman Magna, supposed to have taken its name from its size, but its small extent in comparison with Uriconium, or even with Deva, would lead us to suppose that it must have obtained its name from some other cause. To the south, in the country which commanded the entrance to the Bristol Channel, and the Roman boat service from the west of England across the channel to South Wales, were two important towns, one of which, Isca, was the head-quarters of another legion, the second. The walls of Isca remain in nearly their whole circuit at Caerleon, in Monmouthshire, and they inclose a space of hardly half that included in the walls of Deva. In fact, Isca was evidently more a military than a commercial town. Venta, near Caerwent, of which, also, the walls may be traced standing above ground in nearly their whole extent, was somewhat less in magnitude than Isca, but of much the same form. Glevum was again, no doubt, from its position, an important commercial town. I owe my plan of it to a friend who is well acquainted with the antiquities of Gloucester, Mr. Thomas Wakeman, of the Graig, near Monmouth, and who has made it from the remains of the ancient town walls still existing or remaining within his own memory. It is necessary to state that in this case the river Severn has changed its course since the time of the Romans, and now

runs over what was a part of the Roman town. It will be seen that of these six towns, four were situated on the banks of considerable rivers: Deva, on the Dee, Uriconium, on the Severn, Isca, on the Usk, and Glevum, on a branch of the Severn. Magna, on the contrary, stood at a distance of hardly less than a mile from the Wye, and Venta (Caerwent), was at considerable distance from any river of importance. The forms of these towns, too, varied much, for while Deva, Isca, Venta, and Glevum, were rectangular parallelograms, Magna in small, and Uriconium in large, were of forms so irregular that it would be impossible to describe them in any definite terms. It is not difficult to explain this difference of form. Deva, near the mouth of a great river, entering a sea which lay open to Ireland and the land of the wild Caledonians, and Isca, Venta, and Glevum, laying equally open to the great estuary of the Severn, were exposed to the sudden attacks of pirates, and were no doubt fortified at a very early period, while Uriconium and Magna, inland towns, which were exposed to no dangers, remained probably without defensive walls of any kind, until the late period when the internal state of the island had become so turbulent and unsettled, that every town threw up fortifications with as little delay as possible, and were obliged to encircle with an irregular line a population which had spread itself without any settled plan. The materials and construction of the walls varied from the same circumstances, but they will require a rather more minute investigation.

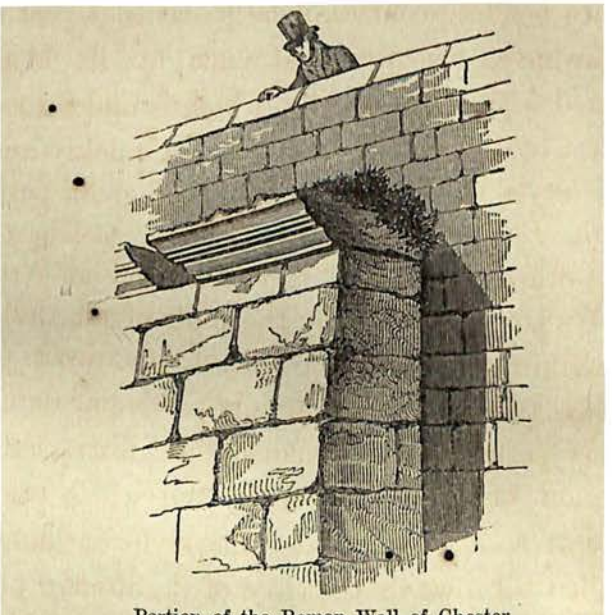
Reasons have been alleged for supposing that the Roman towns in Britain, with the exception of the military stations, were not originally surrounded with walls, or with any defences. In fact, there are very few of the existing remains of walls of Roman towns in this island which have not, when broken into, revealed their comparatively late period by the evidence of stones belonging to older architectural works which have been used up as materials, and these sometimes

are themselves of a rather late style. And at the same time, in many cases, the existing wall, although presenting these circumstances, is so uniform in its structure, that if a previous wall had existed, it must have been completely cleared away to make room for its successor. We have in no instance any direct evidence of the date of any of these walls, but they present points of comparison which enable us to form some notion of their relative antiquity. The style of masonry which is found most commonly, both in Britain and in Gaul, is known by a facing of small stones, carefully squared, with bonding-courses of large flat tiles, and mortar of extreme hardness, recognized at once by its being rather largely mixed with pounded tiles, which is understood to have had the effect of causing the mortar to set quickly and become hard. This style of masonry is found in great perfection at Richborough, Lymne, Pevensey, London, Colchester, York, and various other places, and is represented at Wroxeter by the "Old Wall," and in fact by the walls of all the buildings generally within the town. We have no direct reason for ascribing this style of masonry to any particular date, but as it is found very perfect in the remains of the fortresses raised for the protection of the Saxon coast, and which were doubtless erected at a rather late date, this style of building must have prevailed till towards the close of the Roman period.

There is one very important exception to this style of masonry, the peculiarities of which have been pointed out by Mr. Roach Smith.* The mediæval walls of the city of Chester have been found to contain in nearly their whole circuit portions of the walls of Roman Deva, and a comparison of the two show us in a striking manner the care employed by the Roman builders in the selection of their building materials. While the surface of the mediæval wall is already in a lamentable state of decay, the facing-stones of the older

* See his *Collectanea Antiqua*, vol. vi. p. 42, and his paper on the Roman Remains at Chester, in the Journal of the British Archæological Association, vol. v. p. 207. The former article is especially recommended to the study of all who are interested in this subject.

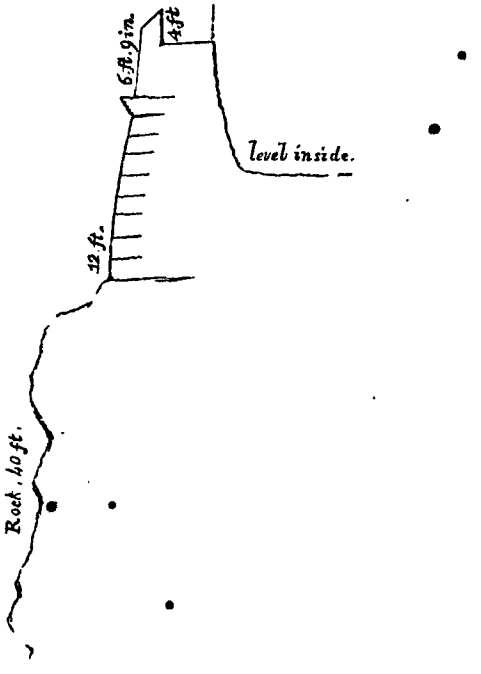
Roman masonry are fresh and uninjured. In fact, while the mediæval builders were satisfied with a grit-stone which is found on the spot, and which presents a good appearance when quarried, but is not durable for a long period, the Romans despised this stone, and went to a distance of some miles to obtain another grit-stone, which, though presenting much the same character when quarried, is far more durable. It is not, however, the difference of material alone which is remarkable in the Roman work of the walls of Chester, but the construction of it is still more interesting. Instead of the



Portion of the Roman Wall of Chester.

small facing stones, bonding-courses of tiles, and hard mortar of the walls I have before spoken of, we have here large stones a foot high, by from eighteen inches to two feet in length, which are arranged in regular and uniform courses. These stones, perfectly squared, are laid upon one another, and fitted together without any mortar at all. The character of this wall is seen best on the northern side of the city, where it looks over a modern canal, which is indicated in the plan in our plate of the plans of the Roman towns on the border. A portion of it is represented in the above cut. It

is a portion of the wall on the north side of Chester, where it overhangs the pathway along the canal, at a considerable elevation, the lower portion of which consists of the natural rock. At about seven feet below the top of the modern parapet, as here shewn, the Roman portion is surmounted by a cornice, which extends, in broken lengths, for at least a hundred yards. The original parapet no doubt rose above this cornice. The Roman courses of stone are regularly a foot deep, and the blocks from eighteen inches to two feet on the bed; and the same construction prevails throughout the Roman work in this wall. In the next cut we give a section of the wall of



Section of Wall at Chester.

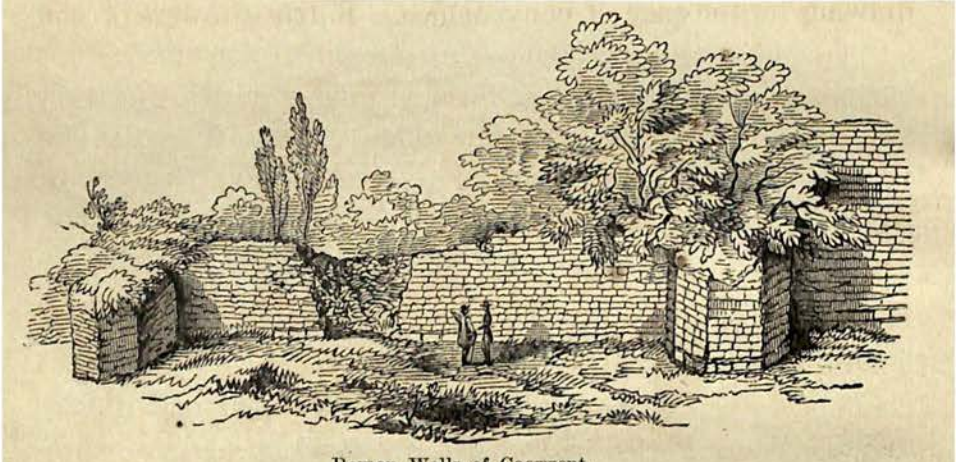
Chester as it now exists, taken across the part represented in the other cut, and exhibiting the relative proportions of the remains of the Roman wall, of the mediæval parapet above, and of the rock below. There is no other example of a Roman town wall in our island which presents the same description of masonry as this, but Mr. Smith points out remains of somewhat similar masonry in the lower part of

the town walls at Sens in France, where it is surmounted by masonry of the usual Roman character, with facing of small squared stones and courses of tiles.* In this foreign example, there can hardly be a doubt that the masonry of the lower part of the wall is more ancient than that which surmounts it; and although, as Mr. Roach Smith justly observes, we should not be justified in assuming that none of the other description of masonry is of a very early date, yet we seem to have sufficient reason for considering the remains of the walls of Roman Deva as examples of the earliest style of masonry used by the Romans in their walls of defence in this island.

Before we proceed to consider other styles of masonry used for the same purpose, it may be remarked that these town fortifications differed in their form as well as in their masonry. Our plan of the walls of Deva, which is taken from the plan of the modern city given in the volume on Cheshire in Lysons's *Magna Britannia*, represents a parallelogram, somewhat out of shape at its southern end, which may perhaps be accounted for by supposing that the modern here varies a little from the line of the ancient wall; but the plan of Caerleon, which is abridged from Mr. Lee's map, and which is nearly a square, also varies in a somewhat similar manner from an exact rectangle. The walls at Caerleon present the usual facing found in the Roman town walls in other parts of the island, consisting of small squared stones with courses of bricks similar to that which is found in the Old Wall at Wroxeter. I am not aware what was the character of the facing of the Roman walls of Gloucester (the ancient Glevum), or if any of the original facing be visible; but in the plan given in the plate, it will be seen that it presented the shape of an exact parallelogram. It is right, however, to remark that the northern corner is here drawn conjecturally, as the channel of the river, as I have stated before, now runs partly over its site.

* See the *Collectanea Antiqua*, vol. v. p. 172.

The walls of Caerwent present a new style of masonry, inferior in many respects to those with the bonding-courses of tiles. The mortar is of inferior quality, and contains no pounded brick, and the facing consists of what appear to be tolerably uniform layers of squared stones, largest at the bottom, but smaller as the courses rise higher in the walls.* There are, however, four bonding-courses of red sandstone, which, among the limestone of which the facing stones are composed, would, when fresh, produce somewhat the appearance of tiles; but now, through the effects of weather, and in consequence of a species of lichen which covers them all, the

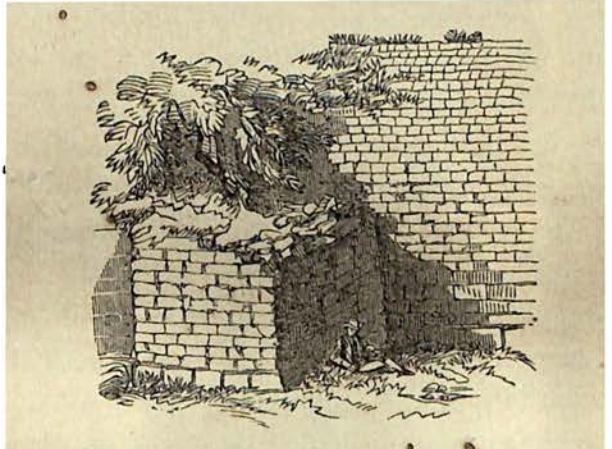


Roman Walls of Caerwent.

external surface of the whole wall appears of one colour. The lowest course of stones in the wall projects about six inches, and the stones are much larger, many of them not less than eighteen inches square. It is worthy of remark that similar masonry is found in the wall of Silchester, in Hampshire, the Roman Calleva, the remains of which bear more than those of any other Roman site in Britain, a resemblance in extent and character to those of Wroxeter, and singularly enough, have attached to them the same popular legend of the destruction of the town by means of sparrows. In the walls of Silchester

* It should be stated that my account of the walls of Caerwent, is taken chiefly from that given by Mr. Roach Smith, in the Journal of the British Archæological Association, vol. iv., p. 254.

there are no courses of tiles, and the mortar is without pounded brick, but a sort of bonding-courses are formed by wide irregular lines of rough carstone, and the stones of the lowest course are much larger than the others, and project from the wall. The cut on the preceding page represents a part of the wall of Caerwent, where it is most perfect, and where, on the western part of its southern line, it is supported by four pentagonal towers, or buttresses; or, as they are sometimes called, though by a less appropriate name, bastions. It is right to remark that these remains are overgrown and much concealed by trees and brushwood, which are omitted in the drawing for the sake of convenience. Buttress-towers of con-



Buttress-tower in Wall of Caerwent.

siderable bulk, round or square, and solid in the whole or in a great part of their height, are usually attached to the regular Roman town-walls which are built with courses of tiles, as at Richborough, (Rutupiæ,) Lymne, (Portus Lemanis,) Pevensey, (Anderida,) Burgh Castle in Suffolk, (Gariannonum,) and other places, or at least are built against them, for they are quite distinct from the wall, and not built into it, except sometimes at the top. The buttress-towers at Caerwent, of which two are shown in the preceding cut, are peculiar in form, and, as usual, are only built up against the wall, although they may have been attached at the top. Two sides of another of these

buttresses, perhaps the most perfect of them all, is represented in the next cut, which shows better than the former the character of the masonry as it appears at the present day.

The circuit of the wall of Roman Magna, at Kenchester, near Hereford, was extremely irregular in its form, as is shown by the plan in our plate. The only remains of the masonry now visible are seen supporting hedges chiefly on the north-west side of the area. It is faced with small stones, arranged in some parts, as at Silchester also, in what is technically termed herring-bone work, and set in very inferior mortar. It is situated on slightly rising ground, in the middle of a plain, at a distance of full a mile from the river Wye, and neither by its position nor by its shape could it have been originally intended as a strong fortification. On the contrary, by its locality, as well as by its irregular form, and by the rudeness of the masonry of its walls, it appears to have been originally an open town, and its fortifications were probably only raised at a late period, when every town was exposed to attacks and in need of protection.*

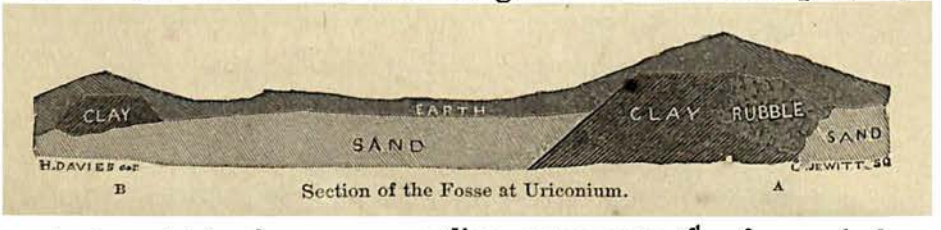
What Magna (apparently misnamed, but its name may have had a meaning now forgotten) was in small, Uriconium was on a much larger scale, on a scale indeed which gave it a just claim to the title applied to it in the book of Richard of Cirencester, of the queen of the cities in this part of the Roman province. As I have already stated, the line of the wall may be distinctly traced in nearly all its circuit by a continuous bank through the fields. To take it at its southern extremity, it begins at a low hill or knoll at F, in our map of the site of Uriconium, which overlooks and commands the river to the east, and where there stood probably a principal entrance to the town. In its course westward from hence it passes below the church and the vicarage in a bottom, the fosse being occupied by a small stream, but the ground rises gradually as

* For an account of the present condition of the Roman remains at Kenchester, see the *Wanderings of an Antiquary*, by the author of the present volume, p. 34.

it passes through the glebe land and the fields beyond, and then it sinks again to the Bell Brook, and during nearly the whole of this part of its course the ground within the wall is generally higher than that on which it stands. After passing the brook, the ground over which the wall runs is very uneven, but in some places the strongest point of ground is certainly not taken, though this might have been done with very little change of position. This seems even to have been the case at K, where the principal entrance, that from London by the Watling Street, appears to have stood. The wall may be traced over the banks, until it approaches the river, and I have followed the older plans, including that of the original maps of the Ordnance Survey, in laying it down along the side of the river itself. But the existence of a wall parallel to the river is open to doubt, for it was not unusual in the fortifications of the Roman towns in Britain, to leave the town without a wall on the side where it was protected by a river, or by the sea, as we find to have been the case at Burgh Castle, at Richborough, and at Lymne; and we have not yet been able to trace the wall at Wroxeter between the point where it reaches the river from the north, and the knoll already mentioned as standing at the southern extremity at F, either by the existence of any bank above, or by trenching the ground. One thing, however, seems clear, that the vast extent of wall we can trace was so irregular in its circuit, and must have presented so many weak points, that it can never have been an original fortification, or been capable of any long defence. It must have been thrown up in a great hurry, and was simply carried round the outside of the city of Uriconium as it then existed. We shall see how far the recent discovery of the character of the masonry of the wall of Uriconium confirms this view of the case.

The statement of the writer of the history of the Fitz-Warines, that the ancient city was encircled with a very lofty wall, is probably not worth much attention, but it became a

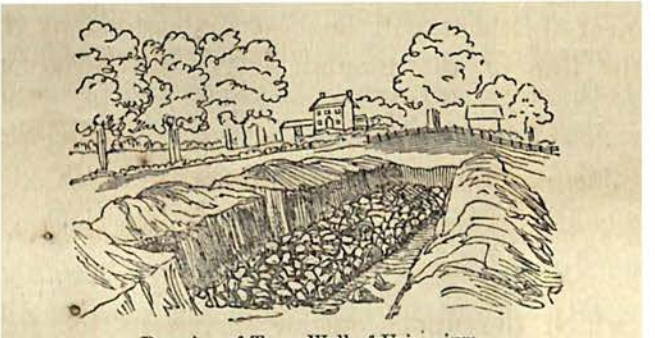
matter of considerable interest to ascertain the real character of this long line of circumvallation. Accordingly, late in the year 1861, a spot was selected in the glebe land where the mound was boldly prominent, and trenches were dug across at the point marked *a* in our map of the site. The expected wall was not found under the external bank, but these excavations brought to light a ditch or fosse, and a parapet, the appearance of which will be best understood by the section across the line of the mound, given in the accompanying



Section of the Fosse at Uriconium.

cut, in which the upper outline represents the form of the surface of the ground as it now appears, of which A is the northern side, towards the town, and B is the southern, or exterior side. The line below shows the form of the ditch, which had a flat bottom. At A, a bank of rubble had first been raised, and this had been faced outwardly with a mass of clay, the surface of which, towards the outside, was inclined at an angle of about 45°, its height above the bottom of the ditch being about nine feet. The side of the ditch at B, which was only about three feet high, was more nearly perpendicular, and was also faced with clay. The breadth of the ditch was ninety-five feet. No traces of any wall closely adjacent to these defences of the city were then met with, but in the course of further trenching in the ground adjacent, the wall of the town was at length met with, and presented a very unexpected appearance. Instead of any of the usual characteristics of Roman masonry, we had here the lower part of a wall which must have been raised very hurriedly, for it consisted merely of large cobble stones (or small boulders) and broken stones from the quarry, which had been placed together without any order, and imbedded in clay. The

remains of the wall were subsequently found in several places, always presenting the same appearance, and on an average about six feet thick. The annexed sketch will give the best notion of the appearance of the remains of the wall in one of the excavations in Mr. Egremont's field, and will shew at the same time the appearance, where more strongly marked, of the line of the mound covering the site of the town wall



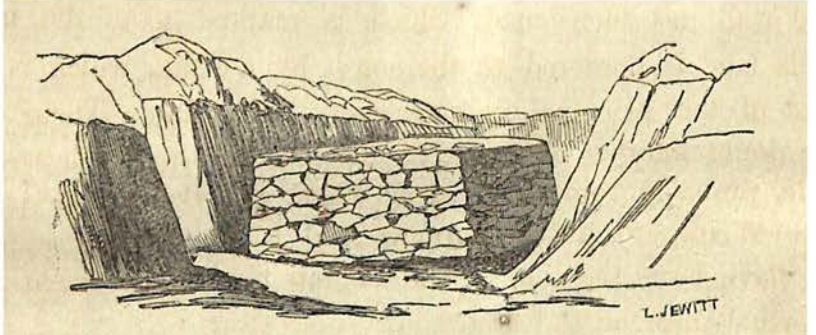
Remains of Town Wall of Uriconium.

as it runs through the fields. Excavations were subsequently made on other points on this line, both here and on the northern side of the ancient city, at the spot marked *b* in the map, and the wall always presented the same appearance, and was accompanied with the same description of parapet or fosse. No tracing of anything like facing-stones to the wall were found.*

The character of the wall, thus ascertained, entirely confirms the opinion formed from other appearances, that the city of Uriconium was fortified very hastily, and only at a late period. It now became a matter of interest to ascertain the character of the entrance gateways to a town fortified in this manner, and it was resolved, in the October of the year 1862, to make excavations for this purpose. Accordingly, two or three men were set to work at a spot on the line

* It is curious that the old *Magna Britannia*, published in 1727, tells us on the authority of the author of the additions to Camden's Britannia, that the city of Uriconium "was encompassed with a wall, built upon a foundation for the most part made of pebble stones, about three yards thick, and a vast trench round it, which in some places appears exceedingly deep at this day."—(Shropshire, p. 639.) The character of the wall had been observed, and reported, perhaps by the farmer who tenanted the lands, but not very accurately.

of the wall, marked *c* in the map, in a field belonging to Lord Berwick, and in the occupation of Mr. Bayley, at what was supposed to be not far from the western side of the buildings of the gateway. The excavators soon came to the wall, which was here in a much more perfect condition than where it had been previously discovered, and remained tolerably perfect to the height of about four feet, or perhaps rather more, with its sides even and tolerably smoothed, but with no more evidence of facing-stones than before. It was traced both westward into the field, and eastward to the hedge which divided the field from the Watling-Street road, and, in this latter direction, was found to break off abruptly a little before it would have reached the hedge, with no appearance of having been broken away, but in a manner which would lead to the conclusion that there had been here an original opening in the wall, and with no traces of any building besides the wall. We could not dig across the road, and at this time it was not convenient to dig in the field on



Section of Town Wall of Uriconium.

the other side of it; but the appearances as far as we went led to the supposition either that the entrance to the city had been a mere discontinuation of the wall, or that whatever structure protected it may have been of wood. The town wall, at this place, was cut through by the workmen in a transverse trench, and thus furnished the section of the wall itself which is represented in our cut. The sketch is taken

looking towards the hedge of the Watling-Street road, and represents the last piece of the wall before the discontinuation here alluded to, and the transverse trench led to no discoveries, nor did the fosse seem to exist here; but the wall having been traced to some distance back into the field, and another transverse trench dug, the fosse, with its parapets of clay, was found just as it had first been met with in Mr. Egremont's land. It would thus seem to have been discontinued at the opening in the wall.

Such is all that we have been able to discover in regard to what may be supposed to have been the chief entrance to the city of Uriconium, for the great Roman road so well-known as the Watling Street, approaching the city from London, entered it at this point. At o in our map, where there is a road-side inn called the "Horse-Shoe," the modern continuation of the London road to Shrewsbury branches off from the Watling Street, and the latter continues as a mere country lane. It entered the city by the opening of the wall just mentioned, which is marked K in the map. This lane is bordered to the south by a bank, which is the site of the principal cemetery of Uriconium. There was no doubt another entrance to the city on the north-western side, probably somewhere near where the Bell Brook passes out of its site, as the present road to Shrewsbury appears to have been the line of the Roman road which went into North Wales and to Chester.

The entrance to Uriconium from the river was at the south-eastern corner of the city. Opposite the gate of the churchyard, the present Watling-Street road makes an abrupt turn down to the side of the river, across which there is an ancient paved ford, leading to a continuation of the Watling-Street road on the other side. This in fact was the Roman road leading to the south through the Stretton valley and by way of Bravinium (the site of which is still rather uncertain) and Magna (Kenchester) to South Wales. I am inclined to

doubt if this were the principal entrance to the town from the river, and it is very improbable that so large and important a place as Uriconium should not have a bridge, especially when we consider that the floods to which this district is subject would render the ford totally impassable during a part of the year. Now, the part of the Watling-Street road which runs down to the river passes along a break in the bank, which rises again to the south in a small knoll at F. The Ordnance Survey map gives the town wall at this corner a curious form, marked here by a single dotted line, I, which is not at all easy to understand, and, in fact, in the Ordnance Survey map itself it is marked by dotting the line as conjectural or doubtful. In an old map of this site, etched some seventy or eighty years ago, and apparently made with very considerable care, the form of the wall is given as marked in our plan by the double dotted lines at H, indicating an entrance gateway of a construction not uncommon in Roman fortifications. The gateway in the northern wall of Richborough, in Kent, presented somewhat the same character. I think it very probable that the line of streets in the town represented by the Watling-Street road was continued to this point, and that here was the entrance to the city from the south. I am told that a little way further down the river the remains of an ancient bridge, supposed to be Roman, have been found, and it is curious that, although the lane opposite the ford is called the Watling-Street road, yet the real line of the Watling-Street road from Church Stretton points more direct to the site of these remains of a bridge than to the Wroxeter ford. I think it therefore not at all improbable that the Roman road from Uriconium to the south left the city by a gate at H, followed the left bank of the Severn to this bridge, and there crossed the river. It may have been built at this point as less exposed to the violence of the water in great floods, than under the city, where the force of the stream would be increased by the

resistance of the hill on which it was built. If the paved ford at M be Roman, it was probably used as a convenient passage of the river when the season allowed. In this case, perhaps, at the time of the ruin of the city, the bridge also was destroyed, and afterwards in the middle ages people made for the ford to cross the river, and the old road was abandoned altogether.

In 1859, during the period while the workmen were excluded from the field of our principal excavations, they were employed at the top of the knoll at F, above alluded to, which overlooks the ford. The earth was full of remains of building materials, and walls were found which had been so much broken away that it was difficult to say to what description of building they had belonged. They appeared to have formed a small square room attached to a more continuous wall. It might have been a tower, but it was of rough masonry, and might be either Roman or mediæval. Now, there appears to be documentary evidence of the existence of a mediæval castle of Wroxeter, which is said to have been called Arundel castle (the earls of Arundel were feudal lords of this territory during the fourteenth century), and, as it was probably only a small fortress to command the ford, it has been conjectured that the walls uncovered on the knoll at F were remains of this castle. It must, however, be stated on the other hand, that all the objects found in digging at this spot were Roman. Among them was a head sculptured in stone, which is evidently of late Roman work, and appears to have belonged to a building which was rather highly ornamented. Coins and other articles were also found, and a coin-mould, in which was the impress of a coin of Julia Domna, the wife of the emperor Severus.

It may be remarked that the village of Wroxeter must have been begun to be built ages after the destruction of the town, when the ruins were already covered with a considerable depth of earth, for the Roman buildings are found

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almost everywhere under the surface of the soil. The cottagers meet with the remains of walls in digging in their gardens, and Mr. Egremont discovered that there are Roman buildings under the lawn of the vicarage. In the year 1827, a rather handsome tessellated pavement was found in what was then a stack-yard, at E in our map, but it was torn to pieces by people who came to see it from Shrewsbury and carried away the tessellæ, and was thus destroyed as soon as it was found, but fortunately not before a drawing had been made of it. It probably belonged to a room of a house which abutted on one of the line of streets which ran from the forum to the town gate at H. Trenches have been dug in various parts of the fields on the other side of the Watling-Street road, immediately opposite the church, and on the top of the hill, but few traces of buildings were discovered, though the ground was full of Roman materials. In one field a Roman well was found and cleared out, and it is now in use for drawing water. Other wells had been found in the immediate neighbourhood.

A glance at our map will show that the principal excavations now in progress (A) are nearly in the centre of the ancient city, and the buildings they have brought to light occupied a high position, though not quite the highest ground within the walls. We should naturally expect that the principal public buildings and mansions of the town would be scattered over the higher ground, and I anticipate that the remains of temples will be found in the field C and in that to the north of it, where we may everywhere trace indications of buildings under ground. At C, in the first of these fields, partial excavations were made in the year 1788.*

We are informed that in the month of June of the year 1788, the tenant of this farm, then a farmer named Clayton, "having occasion for some stone to rebuild a smith's shop

* They are described in a communication made in the following year to the Society of Antiquaries by the Rev. Francis Leighton, and printed in the *Archæologia*, vol. ix.

lately burnt down, and knowing by the dryness of the ground that there were ruins at no great depth beneath the surface of a field near his house, began to dig, and soon came to a floor and a small bath. Application was made to William Pulteney, Esq., then the proprietor of the soil, for leave to open the ground farther, which was readily granted. Coins both of the upper and lower empire, bones of animals (some of which were burnt), fragments of earthen vessels of various sizes, shapes, and manufactures, some of them black, and resembling Mr. Wedgwood's imitation of the Etruscan vase, and (as Mr. Telford the architect informed me) pieces of glass, were found in various places; and the whole ground was full of charred substances." The floor alluded to was at a small depth under the ground, and was paved with tiles sixteen inches long, twelve inches wide, and half an inch thick, lying on a bed of mortar one foot thick, under which were rubble stones to a considerable depth. Adjoining this pavement, to the north, was what Mr. Leighton appears to have rightly denominated a bath. It was seven feet four inches long, by three feet seven inches broad at one end, and three feet eleven at the other, so that it was not quite square. It had two steps or seats, running along the southern side, and, as Mr. Leighton calculated, it was "capable of holding four persons, supposing them to sit on the steps or seats." He adds, "through the north side is a hole through the bottom, at the distance of two feet six inches from the west end. The bottom is paved with tiles, and the sides and seats plastered with mortar, consisting of three layers or coats; the first, or that next the stones, is formed of lime and bruised or pounded brick without sand; the third of the same, but a greater proportion of lime, and a little sand; this is very smooth on the surface, and very hard." On the eastern side of the boundary wall of the floor, which was the limit of the excavations in this direction, was found what Mr. Leighton calls "a place four feet deep below the level of the floor. It has

a paved bottom; and is formed by large granite stones on the southern and eastern sides, on the north by a large thin red stone set on edge." This "place" was about four feet square. On the west of the floor and pavement, separate from them only by a wall, was an apartment with hypocaust, twelve feet wide by twenty long, its length running north and south. This hypocaust was formed of round pillars of stone, instead of the ordinary columns of bricks, and of different sizes, as though they had been taken from former buildings which had been demolished. "The pillars," as Mr. Leighton describes them, "are not uniform in their shape, size, or disposition; some rows consisted of six, some of seven pillars; some pillars were much shorther than others, and the deficiency was made up by tiles or stones laid upon them; some were apparently the fragments of large columns of a kind of granite, one foot six inches, and one foot two inches in diameter; others were of a red free-stone, ten inches in diameter." At the south-west corner were four square pillars formed of tiles in the ordinary way, and there were two passages through the western wall, both clogged with ashes. In the south-eastern corner of this apartment, similar pillars of tiles supported "a small bath, with one seat or step on two of its sides, the whole of the inside well plastered with mortar. From this bath, in a direction southward, there was found a piece of leaden pipe, not soldered, but hammered together, and the seam or puncture secured by a kind of mortar; and there appears a kind of channel or groove cut in large stones, which falls three inches in twelve feet." To the north of these buildings, were small apartments, some with hypocausts and others without; and beyond these, again, a large enclosure, which, like two of the small apartments just mentioned, had "tesselated floors made of pieces of brick one inch and a quarter square, not disposed in any fancied form, but in a simple chequer; the tessellæ are all red."

Such were the remains of buildings uncovered in the year 1788. They were contained within a rectangle of between fifty and sixty feet by somewhat less than thirty, and appeared to be part of some more extensive buildings, but the baths are of rather small dimensions, and might have belonged to a large mansion; though this question can only be decided by further excavations.

The large field marked D, to the north-east of the present excavations, and inclosing the highest part of the ground, has certainly buildings under it in every part, and excavations in any part of it would doubtless be attended with very interesting results. I am informed that tessellated pavements are known to exist at no great depth under the surface. It was in this field, at the spot indicated by the letter D, that the discovery was made in the year 1701, which was communicated to the Royal Society by Dr. Harwood, and printed in the *Philosophical Transactions,* vol. xxv., where the following account is given of the discovery. "About forty perches distant north from a ruinous wall called the Old Work of Wroxeter, once Uriconium, a famous city in Shropshire, in a piece of arable land in the tenure of Mr. Bennet, he observed, that although these fields had formerly been fertilized and made very rich by the flames and destruction of the city, yet a small square parcel thereof to be fruitless, and not to be improved by the best manure. He then guessing the cause of sterility to be underneath, sent his men to dig and search into it; but the soil being then unsown, caused them to mistake, and search in a wrong place; where they happened upon bottoms of old walls, buried in their own rubbish (being such as are often found in those fields); and the inhabitants digging one of them up, for the benefit of the building stone, were thereby guided to the western corner of the said unprofitable spot of land; where they found (near the foundation) a little door place, which, when cleansed, gave entrance into the vacancy of a square room, walled about, and floored under and over, with

some ashes and earth therein." The discovery on this occasion only extended to the opening of a hypocaust, with its floor above, of which a model was made, and the latter is still preserved, with some other objects found at Wroxeter, in the library of Shrewsbury School.

The smith's shop or forge, alluded to in the account of the discoveries at C, stands on the road-side, at the corner of this field (at P), and I have heard it reported that buildings were found under it, and that a large capital of a Roman column forms the foundation for the smith's anvil.

It is not improbable that the commoner orders of the inhabitants of Uriconium inhabited the lower parts of the town bordering on the stream now called the Bell Brook and the northern banks, and their houses may have been constructed chiefly of wood. The earth is everywhere black from the mixture of burnt materials, as in all other parts within the limits of the ancient city. In the year 1859, with the ready and friendly permission of the tenant, Mr. Bayley, trenches were dug in several directions in the field L, but no walls were met with, though the pavement of a street was found, as indicated in our map. Roman coins, and other small objects, were turned up by the spade, and among them a bronze fibula.

A curious document, at present in the possession of C. L. Prince, Esq., has been communicated to me by a friend (M. A. Lower, Esq., of Lewes, in Sussex): it is a rent-roll of the manor of Wroxeter, in the twenty-fourth year of the reign of Edward III. (A.D. 1350). As it appears to me in many respects worthy of being printed, I shall give it in an appendix to the present volume. It will appear at once that a very small portion of the acreage of the parish, which is now estimated at 4774 acres, two roods, and thirty perches, was then under cultivation; for, reckoning the virgate at sixty acres (I believe the ordinary estimate in this part of the country), and the *noca*, or quarter of a virgate, at fifteen, we can hardly account for more than six or seven hundred

acres, including a considerable quantity of waste. I am informed, moreover, that some of the land mentioned in this document is not now included in the parish. It is evident, therefore, that a great part of the land was then waste,—the ground at Norton was a heath, which must have been extensive. Probably a part at least of the site of Uriconium was so covered on the surface with the ruins of buildings as to be left wild. One of the residents bears the very significant name of *Johannes atte Walle*, or John at the Wall, which was in all probability given to him because his *messuage* was adjacent to a part of the ancient town wall. The whole parish at this time appears to have contained twenty-two messuagia, or houses of men holding generally about thirty acres of land, and eleven cottages. By the census of 1821, the latest to which I can at present refer, there were a hundred and twelve houses in the present parish. The *dominus*, or feudal lord, was the earl of Arundel.

There is one local name in this record which is interesting. Hugh Maunseil held a piece of pasture "called le Rowemelne," *melne* being of course the usual old English word for a mill. It may perhaps be allowable to conjecture that the first part of the word is some corruption of Rome or Roman, and that the pasture received its name from the ruins of a Roman mill, or the tradition that there had been one there. There is, I am informed, a field through which the Bell Brook runs, on the right hand of the Watling-Street road as we go to the *Horse-Shoe* inn, which is still called Rue-mill, and which is no doubt the pasture in question. Perhaps the Romans had a mill on the Bell Brook, within the town.

CHAPTER III.

THE BASILICA, AND THE PUBLIC BATHS.

It has been already stated that the only portion of building belonging to the city of Uriconium which remained above ground as long as we have any clear description of the site, was a long piece of wall, which was popularly called the Old Wall, and which appears to have been known at an older period as the Old Work or Works. In old English, the word *work*, or as it was then usually spelt, *wark*, was applied to a building, and especially to a castle, and this was the origin of such names of places as Newark in Nottinghamshire, which was equivalent to Newcastle, and Southwark, now forming part of London. It is under this latter name that the Old Wall at Wroxeter is spoken of by Camden; and the compiler of the article on Shropshire, in the old Magna Britannia, published in 1727, tells us of Wroxeter: "Here is nothing now to be seen of it but a very few reliques of broken walls, called by the inhabitants 'The Old Works of Wroxceter,' which were built of hewen stone laid in seven rows, at an equal distance, arched within after the fashion of the Britains' buildings." In the place where the ruins are, 'tis supposed stood a castle formerly, as is probable, from the unevenness of the ground, heaps of earth, and the rubbish of walls lying here and there."*

* The various conjectures which have been made as to the character of the building to which this wall belonged are curious as shewing the absolute futility of all conjectural explanations, instead of proceeding to a careful examination of facts. Horsley, (*Britannia Romana*, p. 419,) imagined that this wall was part of the prætorium of the Roman city. Others have supposed it was part of a basilica, or a temple, or public granaries, or public baths. We shall see how some of these conjectures accidentally approached the truth; but it must be remarked that this list nearly exhausts the number of great public buildings which we may suppose to have existed in a Roman town in Britain.

From this description we might be led to suppose that, at the time when it was written, more remains of walls were seen above ground than in our time, but we must perhaps make considerable allowance for vagueness of description. However, although, as far as we have any information on the subject, the Old Wall at Wroxeter appears to have undergone no great alteration during at least two centuries, there were certainly more remains at the beginning of the last century than at present.* Its present appearance will be seen in our engraving, which represents it as viewed from the northern side. This wall stands in a large field by the side of the upper road from Attingham to the village of Wroxeter, and near where the road to Coalbrookdale and Ironbridge turns from it, so that it forms a striking object from both. On the northern side, which is represented in our engraving, this wall presents the appearance of the exterior of a building, its facing of small squared stones, with the successive bonding-courses of tiles, being well-preserved. On the southern side, the traces of vaulted roofs which had sprung from it showed us that we were in what had been the interior of a building. This wall is about twenty-one feet high above the modern level of the ground, and seventy-two feet long by three feet in thickness. It runs in a line deviating a little from east to west. It is formed, according to the usual construction of Roman walls, of an internal mass of rubble and boulder stones and other similar material set in very hard cement or mortar, with facing-stones and bonding-courses of tiles, as just stated. These courses consist generally of two layers of tiles. It has been supposed that the mode of construction of these Roman walls was, to erect first the two faces, to a certain height, which were supported by wooden framework or caissons, and then, as the facings thus rose, liquid cement was poured into the space between them, and the stones placed in it to fill

* A curious drawing of the Old Wall, and of some remains, then above ground, of the buildings adjacent to it, is preserved among the collections of drawings in the library of the Society of Antiquaries, and I shall give a fuller account of it farther on in the present chapter.

up; and the horizontal rows of holes which are usually seen on the surface of the walls are supposed to have been the places where the transverse timbers were laid to support the wooden framework, as it was raised higher and higher. After the wall was finished, these holes were perhaps filled up with stones which were not so well cemented, and have fallen out as their mortar became decayed by time.

For several reasons the vicinity of the Old Wall was chosen as the place for commencing our recent excavations. It was nearly the centre of the city, and almost the highest ground in it, so that the most important buildings might be supposed to have stood there. And there was also a question of still greater importance. The ruins of Uriconium might have been so entirely cleared away for building materials as to leave hardly any remains of masonry under ground; and on this point the great height of the Old Wall above ground, and its general appearance, were not very encouraging, for the hope of interesting discoveries depended evidently on the depth to which the floors were covered by the accumulation of earth when the walls began to be broken away. The information, therefore, which we wanted could not be obtained more effectually than by digging to the foundation of the Old Wall. Accordingly, on the 3rd of February, 1859, a pit was sunk against the northern side of the Old Wall, a little to the left of the aperture just alluded to; and it was not without some surprise that the men found themselves obliged to dig to a depth of fourteen feet below the present surface of the ground before they came to the bottom of it. For about two-thirds of this depth it was built in the under stratum of sand which forms a geological feature of the locality, so that the wall must have had a very deep foundation. A large capital of a column, ornamented with a plain band, lay on the original level of the ground, in a reversed position, as though it had fallen from above. But we have continually found architectural fragments of this sort scattered

about in such a manner, as to leave little doubt that they had been removed from their original places.

A trench was next carried to the northward from the wall, and led to the discovery of a pavement formed of small bricks, three inches long by one wide, set in what is technically called herring-bone pattern, and lying here about four feet under the surface of the ground. By following this pavement in different directions, it was discovered that we were in the middle of an extensive building, the principal walls of which were subsequently traced, and will be best understood by reference to the accompanying plan, in which the Old Wall, A, B, which stood above ground, is distinguished by being shaded darker than the rest, with the exception of the breach in the middle, of which I have spoken above, which is left with the light shading. It was found that this Old Wall itself was continued to the westward, the lower part of it being met with under ground, and that there were three parallel walls to the north of it. The first of these was at a uniform distance of fourteen feet; the space between this and the next parallel wall was exactly thirty feet; and the last wall was fourteen feet from the previous wall at its western end, and sixteen at its eastern end, so that these walls were not accurately parallel, and consequently the whole building was a little out of square.* The length of these walls, from east to west, was two hundred and twenty-six feet. The central inclosure, which had no transverse wall except at its two ends, contained, therefore, a space two hundred and twenty-six feet long by thirty feet wide, and had two equally long but comparatively narrow spaces on each side, divided from it by its side-walls. The southernmost of these, marked 1 in the plan, appeared to have been an open alley; and there were some traces of its having been paved with flag-stones. There can be no doubt, indeed, that the northern face of the Old Wall,

* It is not at all uncommon to find Roman buildings in this country out of square, but the cause of this deviation is not known.

which formed one side of this alley, was the outside of a building. The sort of brick pavement which formed the floor of the great central inclosure (2) is generally found in courts and places open to the sky; and the very extent of the inclosure, in this case, would lead us to suppose that it also was not roofed. The narrow inclosure to the north (3) has had, in its whole length, a rather elegant tessellated pavement, arranged in a series of compartments, and this would seem to indicate that it at least had a roof. No doorway was found communicating between these several inclosures; but as the walls of separation were in several places entirely broken away to the foundations, we cannot positively decide whether there were doors or not. In the middle of the most northern wall there was a very wide breach, which in all probability was the site of a principal entrance; for it was afterwards discovered that this wall formed the side of a wide street, the central pavement of which (c c, in the plan), composed of small round stones, was found at a distance of a few feet to the north of the wall. At the western end also of the middle apartment, openings and plinths of stone were found, which seemed to indicate not only an entrance, but the former existence of a considerable amount of architectural ornamentation. As this came near to the edge of the field, and abutted on what is now called the Watling-Street road, which subsequent discoveries have shewn to occupy the line of a principal street of the town, these buildings evidently occupied the corner formed by two streets crossing at right angles. The only articles found in the course of excavating these inclosures, calculated to throw any light upon the object for which they were designed, were a portion (two or three links) of a rather ponderous iron chain, the steel head of an axe, and a small trident, also made of iron. The latter is about five inches and a half long, and the one end, formed like the ferules of the old spear heads, was evidently intended to be fitted on a shaft, so that it may have belonged to some sort

of ceremonial staff. Portions of several padlocks, of a curious but now well-known Roman character, and apparently intended for fetters, were also picked up in this part of the excavations. These objects might lead us to suspect that the buildings immediately to the north of the Old Wall were of a public, or perhaps municipal, character. Many fragments of the stucco, painted in fresco, were found in digging in these buildings, among which was part of an inscription in large letters, two of which were perfect, and sufficient remained of the first and last, when first picked up, to shew that the four letters were A R C A; of course these letters are quite insufficient to throw any light on the purport of the inscription when entire.

The continuation of the northernmost wall was traced eastward until the excavation was interrupted by the opposite hedge of the field, making a whole length of about four hundred feet. A doorway, approached by a stone step, led through the wall forming the eastern end of the great central inclosure, into a smaller inclosure (4), which, from the set-off on the walls, and some other circumstances, was supposed to have been a quadrangular yard, or court, built a little out of square, and measuring about sixty-six feet from north to south, and about thirty from east to west. Beyond this was a much larger inclosed space, which was trenched across in several directions, but no floor or transverse walls were found, and it was conjectured that it may have been a garden.

I have already remarked that the northern face of the Old Wall presents all the appearance of having been the exterior of a building; and this had evidently been the case with its continuation westward, in which, at a rather considerable interval from each other, were found two openings for doors, each approached from the narrow passage by a step composed of one large squared stone. The step to the westward (6 on the plan) was very much worn by the action of people's feet, and must, therefore, have been much frequented; but this

was not the case with the other (5). It was at this latter opening that we crossed the line of the Old Wall and began to excavate the buildings to the south. But, while we were in the middle of this work, circumstances occurred which, through a local disagreement, compelled us to abandon our work temporarily, and ended in obliging us to fill up the excavations to the north of the Old Wall, where I regret to say that the examination of the Roman buildings had been but imperfect, and to confine our labours to the south.

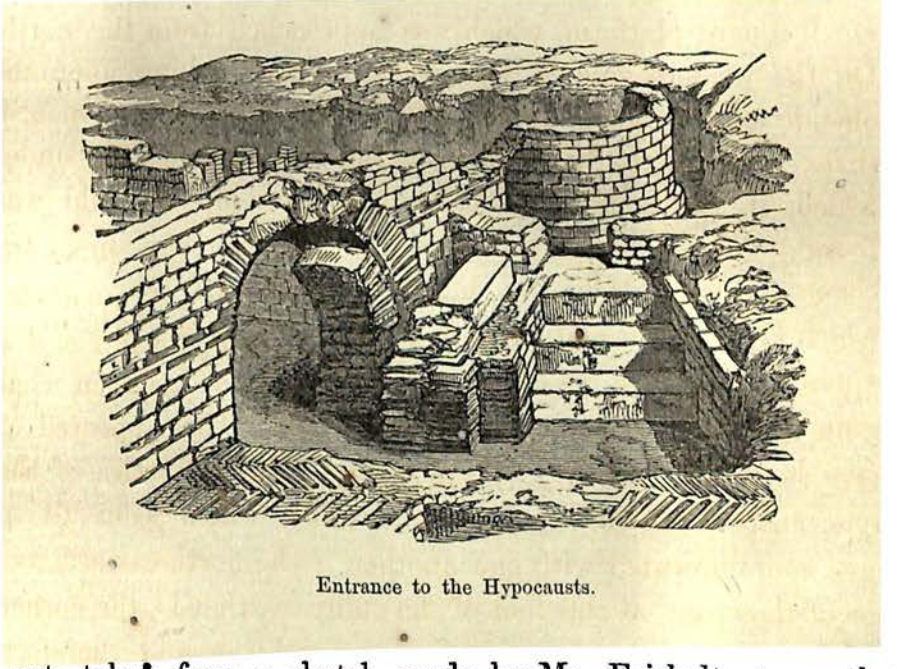
On the southern side of the wall, beginning with the doorway (5), trenches were carried in several directions, and soon brought the excavators to the outside of a semi-circular end of a large apartment (7), about forty feet long by thirty wide. The intermediate space appeared to have formed a court-yard; and from the number of human remains found in it, it is evident that, at the time of the destruction of the Roman city, many of the inhabitants had sought shelter here and in the adjoining buildings, and had been pursued and massacred. In the south-eastern corner, under what appeared to have been an opening from an apartment above, lay the bones of a very small child, believed, from the appearance of the skull, to have been an infant in the arms, which had perhaps been murdered and thrown down from a room above. The semi-circular wall just mentioned presented a mass of very good masonry, and was partly covered with plaster or stucco, which had been worked to a smooth surface, and painted with stripes of red and yellow; from which it appears that the Romans in this country painted in fresco the outsides of their houses as well as the interiors. Near the wall lay a very ponderous stone, worked into the form of part of the arc of a circle, which had evidently formed one of a layer of such stones at some unknown elevation in the semi-circular wall. A piece of iron remains soldered into it with lead, but for what purpose, it would not be easy even to conjecture. It is now placed on the top of the wall.

The floor of the interior of this large room, which appeared to have presented merely a smoothed surface of cement, was all destroyed, with the exception of a small fragment in the north-east corner, but the columns of the hypocaust on which it had been supported remained in almost a perfect state. Our plate represents a portion of the hypocaust, viewed from the s.s.w., that is looking towards the semi-circular end, as it appeared when it was first opened. It is taken from a photograph, and possesses the more interest, because soon after it was taken nearly all the columns were destroyed by an incursion of ignorant vandals from the colliery districts.* These supporting columns, which were of the rather unusual height of a little more than three feet, were formed of square flat bricks, placed one upon another without mortar, and most of them were standing to very nearly their original height. The floor, as just intimated, had been all broken up, but pieces of the concrete which composed it were found scattered about. A small piece of floor still remains on its supports in the north-eastern corner, presenting a mass of hard concrete about eight inches thick. In this corner were found the ashes from the fires, as well as in other parts of the inclosure. A hundred and twenty of the supporting columns were counted before the area had been entirely cleared. About the middle of this hypocaust, there was a sort of passage across, from west to east, which communicated to the west with a building formed of cross walls and hypocaust columns (10), which is not easily described, but which appeared to have been a depository for fuel, for a quantity of unburnt coal, both charcoal and mineral, was found in it when opened.

* In the May of the year 1859, while we were temporarily excluded from the field in which the excavations were carried on, it appears that a party of miners from the collieries, who were in the habit of taking a holiday and making an excursion at this time of the year, having been attracted by the accounts published in the newspapers, paid their visit to Wroxeter. Not understanding what they saw, and finding nobody there to keep them in order, they amused themselves by throwing down the columns of this hypocaust and breaking to pieces the materials. When therefore an arrangement had been made, and we returned to our work, we found this interesting hypocaust a mere heap of broken tiles. Dr. Henry Johnson, with great care and labour, had the more perfect tiles picked out, and the columns re-erected, as far as it could be done, by the help of photographs and drawings which had been made before the occurrence of this barbarous piece of vandalism.

On the eastern side, the passage alluded to brought us to a doorway in the wall, through which we entered the similar hypocaust of another large room (8). The columns in this second hypocaust were much more dilapidated than in the first, but some of them were found entire, supporting a portion of the floor in the south-west corner, where also were found the ashes from the fire and soot on the walls, the latter appearing quite fresh when first uncovered. The floor appeared here to have been at the same height as in the other room, and it was similarly formed of a bed of smooth concrete. In the northern side of this room, where the wall remained to the height of nine or ten feet, there was a doorway, with an arch turned with large flat Roman tiles. This was found to be approached from without by a staircase (9) of three large steps, each composed of a single stone, descending from a small square platform, which was approached from the north. On the western side of this platform, and looking upon the outside of the semi-circular end of the first room opened, there appeared to have been an opening in the wall, under which, in the court outside, the skeleton of the child was found. When the platform of the staircase was first uncovered, it was blocked up by the broken shaft of a column, which lay across it as though it had fallen from above; and a squared block of stone lay by the side of the staircase in what seemed to have been its original position. This appeared to have been the principal entrance to the whole series of the hypocausts I am now going to describe, which seem all to have communicated with one another. The north-eastern corner of the space at the foot of the staircase, that is, the corner which was opposite the stairs and the archway, and therefore out of the way of those who had to pass up and down the one and through the other, presented an appearance which would lead us to suppose that, at the close of the Roman period, it had been used as a receptacle for refuse, such as the sweepings of the floors, for the earth, as each spadeful was

taken up, was found to be filled with Roman coins, hair-pins, and other personal ornaments, buttons, nails, broken pottery, and glass, bones of birds and other edible animals, and a variety of other objects, which were carefully collected, and have been placed in the Museum, at Shrewsbury. The appearance of the staircase and doorway, when first uncovered, will be best understood by our plate, engraved from a drawing by Mr. Hillary Davies, a very able young artist, of Shrewsbury. It is taken from the north, and over the wall we see to the extreme right the upper part of one of the columns of the first hypocaust, and before us the perfect columns supporting a portion of floor in the south-western corner of the second. In the back ground, rises the tower of Wroxeter Church; and in the distances, are seen Caer-Caradoc, Lawley Hill, and the Stretton mountains. The accompanying wood-



Entrance to the Hypocausts.

cut, taken from a sketch made by Mr. Fairholt at a rather later period, represents the appearance then presented by the entrance to the hypocaust as seen from the east, and shows the passage through the wall, and the semi-circular wall beyond it.

Immediately to the east of this staircase is a rectangular chamber (14), about twelve feet square, with a herring-bone pavement formed of small bricks, exactly like that of the large inclosure to the north of the Old Wall, part of which is shewn in the foreground of the preceding cut. The eastern side of this room, which is in a line with the eastern wall of the second room with a hypocaust, appears to have been originally open in nearly its whole width, although it has been, at some later period, built up. It opened into a larger room (11), also possessing a hypocaust. It was in this hypocaust that three skeletons were found; one that of an old man, who had died crouched up behind the columns in the north-west corner, the others apparently females, who were lying down at the foot of the north wall. Close to the man lay a heap of coins, which had been contained in a small wooden coffer, as described in the foregoing chapter. In the southern wall of this hypocaust, there is a breach, which has no doubt been a small entrance from a court outside. The three individuals to whom these skeletons belonged, who had no doubt sought refuge here from the fury of the massacrers who were plundering the city, had either entered the hypocaust No. 8, by the steps and so made their way into this hypocaust No. 11, or, probably, passed through this passage in the wall, and so crept between the rows of columns to the spot in which they were found. But, though their asylum was tolerably safe from pursuit, it was exposed to other dangers which were no less serious—it was somewhat the case of a man getting into his chimney when his house is on fire; and, as these buildings were no doubt given to the flames, if they were not actually burnt, they were no doubt suffocated, and the latter alternative appears the most probable by the position and appearance of the bones. Other rooms, and what appeared to be a passage, followed to the eastward of the one just described. The first of these was the large room, or perhaps two rooms, (12), also with a hypocaust. The passage appeared to have

run along the northern side of this room, and near the middle of it was a square reservoir, somewhat like a cesspool, across the bottom of which a drain runs north and south, built in very good masonry, and evidently intended to carry off water. Beyond the room 12, is another room with a hypocaust, resembling exactly in shape and dimensions the room 11, and adjoining to it a small square chamber with floor of bricks set in herring-bone (15), exactly resembling that marked 14 on the plan, and open to the room 13, just as the room 14 was originally open to that marked 11. Adjoining the room 13, to the south, was a smaller room with a hypocaust, in which were found two skeletons, one that of a young person, but the other wanted the head. Our engraving of "The Excavations at Wroxeter," near the Old Wall, taken from a drawing by Mr. Fairholt, represents them looking westward, at a time when they were only partially excavated, and shows the northern ends of the rooms just described. The foreground is formed by the herring-bone pavement of the small room, 15; and in the farthest wall is seen the original opening of the similar room 14, afterwards built up. To the right is the Old Wall, and in the far distance the three Breiddin mountains, on the line of boundary between England and Wales. In the eastern wall of the room marked 13, there is a neatly-built recess, which has either been a fire-place for the hypocaust, or more probably a passage through the wall, which here appears to have been the eastern boundary of these buildings. The northern wall of the room 13 was, when first opened, covered with the remains of flue-tiles. The columns of the hypocaust are gone, but their height is marked on the stucco of the wall. The western end of this wall is squared off to the passages, forming apparently the side of a cross passage, and at the foot it has a kind of base formed of large stones hollowed or scooped out in a very remarkable manner, which appears to have joined in with the concrete of the floor, as though they

had formed the side of a channel for water; but it is not easy to make out what was their real object. These stones are represented in the engraving just referred to, and in another engraving of this wall, which will be given farther on.

The passages just described lie parallel to the Old Wall, at a distance of about forty feet to the south. On this side, the surface of the Old Wall presents unmistakeable evidence of having been the interior of a building; the startings of transverse walls and of the vaulted roofs (of the description termed barrel-roofs) of three distinct rooms, being perfectly visible. A series of rooms, therefore, extended from the Old Wall to the eastern part of the buildings I have just been describing. These rooms, which were five in number, (marked 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, in our plan), have not yet been explored, with the exception of very partial excavations to trace the walls, and of the southern part of the room 20. Here was found, on a level with the floors of the hypocausts, a perfect tessellated pavement, formed, very laboriously, of small cream-coloured tessellæ, laid in a uniform field, without any attempt to introduce a pattern. It was evidently the floor of a bath, and there are extensive remains of a raised step around it, forming a rectangular basin to contain water. A little higher on the side of the wall are indications of the former existence of something like a platform, or wooden floor, too low, however, to admit of people standing beneath it, and the object of which we are the less able to explain, because there are in different parts of these buildings many indications of alterations made at different times, and because when this room is further explored, we shall probably be able better to understand its peculiarities. One of these is sufficiently remarkable. The surface of the southern wall of this room, which forms the separation between it and the room 13, was ornamented with tessellated work instead of fresco-painting, and the lower edge of it, consisting of a guilloche border, still remains. On uncovering the corresponding wall of the room marked 16,

similar tessellated work was found upon it, so that when the two rooms are completely excavated, they will probably be found to correspond to each other. The three intervening rooms have not been examined, with the exception of a trench run into that marked 17, where a quantity of charred wheat was found, as though it had been used at the close of the Roman period as a granary.*

I will state briefly, at present, that further south, opposite E in the plan, a wide trench was carried from west to east, in the course of which was discovered first a wall, H, I; and next, at a distance of about 12 feet, another similar wall parallel to it. Beyond this, there was a narrow passage, then a rise with a pavement of cement, which extended some four or five feet, and then suddenly sank to a floor of large flagstones, at a depth of upwards of four feet from the floor of cement. The floor of flags, covered with black earth, marked by the letter E in the plan, appears to have been a reservoir of water; for the bottom was found covered with black earth filled with broken pottery and other objects, such as may be supposed to have been thrown into a pond. This reservoir was of considerable extent, and from the height of the original surface of the ground on the other side, the water appears to have been about three feet deep. A further exploration of the two parallel walls first brought to light by this trench, showed that they belonged to a gallery, which extended along two sides of a rectangular inclosure, about two hundred feet square, (H, T, K,) and that these galleries formed the boundary of the building towards the west and south. The southern wall formed the side of a street, the pavement of which, L, L, L, has been uncovered along the whole extent of these excavations. The trench above mentioned, after passing the reservoir E, brought the excavators to a very substantial wall at *o*, which

* As one of the old conjectures as to the character of the building of which the Old Wall made a part was that it was a public granary, it is probable that this room had been dug into before. It would require a much greater knowledge of the history and condition of Uriconium during the period before its destruction than we are likely to gain, to account for the presence of wheat in this room.

was traced in its whole extent, and was clearly the exterior of a building, so that the reservoir evidently occupied the middle of a large open court. At a short distance within the wall *o*, at D, another sunken floor was found, formed of flat Roman tiles, twelve inches by eighteen inches square. This floor was about ten feet wide by thirty long, and was about three feet below the level of the cement floor of the very large apartment enclosed by the wall *o*, *p*, *p*, and the others parallel to them. It appeared also to have been a tank of water, and was perhaps a cold-water bath. There were two entrances to this building from the south, at *p*, *p*, of one of which the walls are well preserved and defined.

A glance at the whole plan of these buildings, and a consideration of the distribution of their different parts, can hardly leave a doubt in our mind that they formed the public baths of Uriconium; but, before we proceed to treat further this question, I will shew briefly how it affects the identification of the previously mysterious building to the north. The public baths of the Roman towns in Britain are not unfrequently mentioned in inscriptions—those only written records of the internal condition of our island under the Romans—which commemorate the repairing or rebuilding of them; but it is a circumstance of some importance that this building is usually combined with the basilica, or town hall. In fact, these buildings were so closely attached that both seemed to have participated in the same accidents, and to have undergone decay together. Thus an inscription found at Lanchester in Cumberland, (supposed to be the Roman town of Epiacum;) informs us that the public baths and basilica there were built up from the ground (the form of the phrase intimates that they had been rebuilt), in the reign of the emperor Gordian, A.D. 238-244, by his legate, the proprætor of Britain, Gneius Lucilianus, by the care of Marcus Aurelius Quirinus, præfect of the first cohort of the Gordian legion. The inscription (*)

* Given in Horseley's Britannia Romana, and in Lyson's Magna Britannia, Cumberland.

is so generally interesting in relation to this subject, that it may be given entire :

IMPERATOR CÆSAR MARCVS ANTONINVS GORDIANVS
PIVS FELIX AVGVSTVS BALNEVM CVM BASILICA A
SOLO INSTRVXIT PER GNEIVM LVCILIANVM LEGATUM
AVGVSTALEM PROPRÆTOREM CURANTE MARCO
AVRELIO QUIRINO PRÆFECTO COHORTIS PRIMAE
LEGIONIS GORDIANÆ.

At Ribchester, in Lancashire, which appears from a Roman altar found there to be the site of the Roman Bremetonacæ, the baths and basilica (BALINEVM ET BASILICAM) were rebuilt after having fallen into ruin through age. We are, therefore, I think, justified in concluding that the building to the north of the Old Wall was the basilica of the city of Uriconium. The basilica was, primarily, the court of justice of the town, where prisoners were tried, and the prætor gave his judgment. In the provinces, no doubt, it served various other public purposes; it was perhaps used sometimes for public games; and an inscription found at Netherby, in Cumberland, speaks of a basilica in the Roman town which occupied that site for practice in riding (BASILICAM EQVESTREM EXERCITATORIAM). It is a curious circumstance that, assuming that we have correctly identified this building, the basilica of Uriconium was exactly the same length, 220 feet, as that of Pompeii, and also, as we shall see further on, occupied exactly the same position with regard to the fôrum. But the basilica of Pompeii was eighty feet wide, whereas the interior space of that of Uriconium is only thirty feet wide. But two rows of columns in that of Pompeii separates a central nave from two aisles, and if we reckon the two side passages in that of Uriconium at an average width of fifteen feet, it would make the whole breadth sixty feet, which would not be so greatly disproportionate. The basilica had usually a gallery on each side, and as the five tessellated pavements in the northern passage of the building at Uriconium seems to intimate that

it was covered, there may have been a gallery above. There may possibly have been a gallery also on the other side, over what was evidently a public passage, from which people entered the baths and other establishments.

With the Romans the bath was one of the most important of the social institutions. Among the ancients, poverty was not considered to be equivalent to dirtiness, as is too generally the case in modern times, and all classes of society made constant use of the bath, which thus became a necessary of life. Hence the practice of building public bathing establishments had existed from a very remote period. The Greeks called a bath *balaneion*, from which was derived the Latin word *balineum*, or *balneum*. The word was also used in the feminine gender and plural number, *balneæ*. It is generally considered that the latter form was properly applied to a public establishment of baths, and that *balneum* meant a private bath; but this was certainly not the case in Britain, where the inscriptions always apply the word *balineum* or *balneum* to the public baths. The Romans also adopted for these establishments the Greek name of thermæ, meaning literally, "hot places," and therefore indicating one of the chief characteristics of these establishments, which was the heat and not the water, and this seems to have been the more fashionable name at Rome and in the great Roman cities of the south. Our Anglo-Saxon forefathers appear not to have been acquainted with the Roman hot bath before they settled in this country, and they had no name for it in their own language; for their verb *bathian*, to bathe, meant literally to wash, and their *bæth*, or bath, implied always the idea of using water. Hence has arisen a general misunderstanding of the real nature and use of the ancient bath.

The arrangement and construction of the baths were considered as one of the proudest and most difficult tasks of the Roman architect, and are treated with considerable minuteness by Vitruvius. The plan, though always made according to one

unvaried principle, was of course in detail varied according to circumstances, and we should expect such variations to be found more especially in a distant island like Britain. Yet it is remarkable that the builder of the public baths of Uriconium followed exactly the general direction of the Roman architect just quoted, that the buildings should face the south, and that they should be sheltered from the north, as they were here very effectively sheltered by the large buildings of the basilica. The different processes of the bath are tolerably fully described by the ancient writers. Within the entrance of the building there was a small room occupied by the keeper, *balneator*, who took the admission fee, usually the small coin called a *quadrans*, equal to half a farthing. Adjoining to this, in the great baths in Italy, were two waiting rooms, one for friends, the other for the servants, who brought with them their bathing linen or towels *(lintea,)* the scraping-instruments *(strigiles,)* and their small bottles of oil or unguent *(ampullæ oleareæ.)* People of position appear to have generally carried these objects with them, instead of using those which were furnished at the baths, and in examples which have been found among Roman remains on the continent, sets of bathing implements have been found, the set usually suspended to a ring, from which they could be taken at will, and consisting of the strigil, the small oil bottle, tweezers for depilation, and teeth and ear picks, all usually made of bronze. A friend who has done much towards making better known and appreciated the Roman bath and its modern representative the Turkish bath, George Witt, Esq., F. R. S., possesses, in his extremely interesting private collection of antiquities, a very complete set of these instruments, which was found near Latum, in Germany, in the grave of a Roman officer, who had considered them of such importance to his personal welfare that they had been deposited with him in his last resting-place. All these objects have been found not unfrequently in Britain, with the

exception perhaps of the oil bottle, of which, however, I believe that examples have been met with, but I am not aware of any instance in which the set of bathing instruments was found together, suspended to their ring.

The first room which formed really a part of the bathing establishment was the undressing room, where the bathers stripped and left their clothes, which they entrusted to an attendant appointed for that purpose. This room was called the *vestiarium, spoliarium,* or *apodyterium.* From it you passed into the *unctuarium* or *elæothesium,* the room where people were anointed, and underwent the operation of shaving and some other processes. People who could afford it were here anointed with rich unguents and perfumes, which appear usually to have been kept here as in a shop, but the poorer people were merely anointed all over the body with a coarse cheap oil. The bathers went hence into a large room set apart for bodily exercises and games, of which the one most in favour was playing at ball, and hence it was called the *sphæristerium.* It would appear that the exercises of the *sphæristerium* were partaken in before the hour of opening the baths themselves, which was announced by the ringing of a bell. The reader of Martial will remember the line—

Redde pilam : sonat æs thermarum ; ludere pergis ?—*Ep. lib. xiv. ep.* 163.

It was believed that this previous bodily exercise was highly conducive to the good effects of the subsequent baths.

When the bather proceeded to the latter, he was first introduced into the *tepidarium,* a room moderately heated, which was preparatory to another apartment, kept at a very much greater heat, and called the *caldarium, sudatorium,* or *laconicum,* the two first names describing its particular character, and the other said to have been given to it because its use was derived from the Laconians. In the larger and more elaborate baths, however, the *laconicum,* appears to have been distinguished from the *sudatorium,* and the name *caldarium* was given, at least sometimes, to a warm-water

bath. I have already stated that the process of bathing did not consist in immersion in water, which was not introduced for this purpose either in the tepidarium or in the sudatorium; and the erroneous notion on this subject has entirely led astray the writers on the Roman baths down to the present day. By means of the hypocaust beneath the floor, and the flues which lined the walls, and through which the hot air passed, the tepidarium was kept at a moderate heat, and the sudatorium at so high a temperature as to produce in the human body the very profuse perspiration necessary to a thorough cleansing of the skin. The sudatorium was surrounded by benches, on which the bathers sat while they were undergoing its effects. It was here that the strigils or scrapers were used, which people in the better classes of society usually brought with them, but others were probably kept at the baths for the use of the poorer people. The strigil was usually made of bronze, sometimes of iron, and, in some rarer cases, of silver. It consisted chiefly of a curved blade, with a simple handle, the latter often forming a loop, through which the fingers were perhaps passed, to hold it with more strength. The accompanying cut represents a strigil found in the last century, in one of the rooms of the

Roman Strigil, found at Wroxeter.

baths at Uriconium, and now preserved in the library of Shrewsbury School. It is of bronze, about nine inches long, and has a handle of rather unusual form, but the blade has partly lost its original curved form through violence or pressure to which it has been exposed. With the edge of this instrument the skin was very forcibly scraped, so as to clear away the surface of sweat and dirt, and the attendants then cleansed it with sponges; in fact, the bather was treated somewhat

in the same way as we now treat horses, when they come into the stable hot. In an adjoining room called the *lavatorium*, he bathed in water, which was supplied in a shower, or in a bath in which he could immerse himself, or in vessels of different sizes. One of these, a large vessel with overhanging edge, was called a *labrum*, and seems to have been frequently placed at the semi-circular end of a large room. The process of the bath was now completed, and the bather returned slowly through the tepidarium, into another large room called the *frigidarium*, or cooling room, which like the sudatorium, was furnished with benches and seats, with large open windows to let in the wind and cold air. Here the bathers reposed themselves, until all remains of the perspiration had disappeared. The effect of the sudorium itself, and especially that of the rather sudden transition from its intense heat to the cold of the frigidarium, produced an agreeable and even a voluptuous feeling, which can only be understood by those who have experienced the effects of the modern Turkish bath, and which contributed much to the great love of the Romans for the bath. It was this, indeed, which constituted its charm, and which acted so beneficially on the constitution. The physician Galen says that "the body is tempered by going from the caldarium into the frigidarium, like steel or iron when thrust red-hot into cold water." And the Christian father, Clemens of Alexandria, expresses a similar sentiment, when he represents that "the flesh is softened by heat in the same manner as steel; and so, when we cool ourselves, we go through a process resembling the tempering of steel by immersion."*

In the course of the bath, the bather had undergone various operations of the toilet. The old comic writer Lucilius, in a line which has been preserved, states them all in as many words under the different processes of scraping, shaving,

* Clemens Alexandrinus, Pædagog., lib. iii., cc. 5 and 9.

scowering, smoothing with pumice, adorning, expilating, and finishing off—

Scabor, suppilor, desquamor, pumicor, ornor, expilor, pingor,

But other purposes were also provided for in the larger baths. Adjoining to the buildings were usually added gardens with shady avenues, and within the buildings a large court for exercises in the open air, with cold swimming baths *(piscinæ)*, and above all, an *ambulatorium*, or cloister for walking under cover, which usually formed two sides of a square. These made it a favourite place of resort for the citizens. Hence, although men of wealth had usually private baths in their own houses, yet they seem generally to have preferred the use of the public baths, partly perhaps because the private baths were smaller and less complete. The younger Pliny, in the interesting description of his villa at Laurentinum, states, as one of its advantages, the vicinity of the town of Ostium, where, among other things, there were public baths, of which he could make use, as an economy, when circumstances occurred which rendered it inconvenient to use his own.* Private baths are always met with in the Roman villas in Britain; and at least one private bath appears to have been found attached to a dwelling in the city of Uriconium.†

The general plan of the public baths of Uriconium is tolerably evident, but the details will be better understood when the site has been further cleared, and especially when the rooms adjacent to the Old Wall, numbered 16 to 20 in the plan, have been fully explored. On the first glance at our plan, we are struck by the circumstance that there appears to have been a duplicate series of rooms corresponding to each other with remarkable uniformity, the large room 12 forming the centre. It is from what appears to have been a receptacle of water in the middle of this latter apartment,

* Frugi quidem homini sufficit etiam vicus, quem una villa discernit: in hoc balinea meritoria tria; magna commoditas, si forte balineum domi vel subitus adventus vel brevior mora calefacere dissuadent.—*Plinii Epist.*, *lib.* II. *ep.* 17.

† See it described in the preceding chapter, p. 103.

that the drain runs northward under the room 18, which has not been explored, and no doubt under the basilica, to communicate with a main sewer which ran probably down to the river, and perhaps at no great distance hence. From the appearances presented in the course of excavating, a passage seemed to have run along the southern side of the northern wall of the room 12, which was interrupted by the square pit from which this drain proceeded, and which had furnished a means of communication between these different apartments. At two places there were wide openings through the wall from this passage to the northern side of it; and at the more easterly of these openings, just at the entrance to the room 13, there is, at the foot of the wall, a large stone scooped out in a singular manner, and joining on the other side to other similar stones which run round the end of the wall. They have somewhat the appearance of having formed the side of a water channel, but their real object is, with the extent of our present knowledge, very uncertain. The first of these stones is shewn in our view from the east of the "Excavations at Wroxeter near the Old Wall," and the whole group appear in the plate of "Remains of Buildings opposite the East End of the Old Wall," taken from the opposite side, as they appeared lying on the ground when this passage was first opened. The walls round it have become dilapidated since the earth has been cleared away round them. The bed of the drain is formed of the large roof tiles, with the flanged edges turned upwards. The surface of the southern side of the wall of the passage described above was covered with plaster or stucco, and a little to the eastward of the pit an inscription was found, scrawled in large straggling characters with some sharp pointed instrument, such as a stylus, and closely resembling in character the *graffiti*, as they are termed, found on the walls of Pompeii and Herculaneum. When, one evening, this part of the wall was first uncovered, two lines of this inscription remained, which appeared to have been its conclusion, and seem to have been perfectly well pre-

served, but, before anybody had an opportunity of examining it, two casual visitors (for the public were then admitted freely) amused themselves by employing their walking sticks or umbrellas to break off the plaster, in order apparently to try its strength, and they were not observed by the workmen until the first line had been completely destroyed, and the second, which had been a shorter one, was very much broken into. When I visited the excavations next morning, I could only trace distinctly the letters N T, which had formed the termination of the second line, but I was satisfied from what remained that the letter which preceded them was an A, and that these letters had formed the termination of a verb in the plural number at the end of the sentence. I have no doubt that the inscription was written in Latin. I gathered up the bits of plaster from the ground, on the faces of many of which were still visible lines of the letters which had been destroyed, but they were in far too fragmentary a state, and too much had been reduced to mere powder, to allow the slightest hope of putting them together and making anything of the inscription. I gave directions for making a careful facsimile of what remained on the wall, but before this could be done, the unfortunate misunderstanding with the tenant occurred, by which we were temporarily excluded from the field, and on our readmission, what had been left of the inscription was further damaged by the weather, and perhaps by other meddling visitors, so that all that remained of this inscription when I was at length enabled to have it copied, was reduced to a few mere scratches. Thus, through mere ignorant and mischievous wantonness, we lost all the advantage of a discovery which might have thrown important as well as curious light on the state of Britain at this period.

The large apartment marked 12 evidently forms the centre of a uniform system of rooms, but it would not be safe in our present extent of knowledge to attempt to fix the pur-

poses which each was intended to serve. In the hypocaust of the room marked 13, opposite the eastern extremity of the Old Wall, the bases of the columns alone remained when it was opened, the columns themselves having been cleared away, probably dragged up for materials. The floor has been of smoothed concrete, which also appears to have been the material of the floors of the passages leading to it. But the most interesting feature of this hypocaust is the manner in which the surface of the northern wall above the floor was, when brought to light by the excavators, covered with remains and impressions of the flue-tiles which carried upwards the hot air from the hypocaust through the room. Few traces of these flue tiles had hitherto been found in position, though many of them lay broken and scattered about, but here they had run up in rows close together, as will be seen in our engraving, which represents a view looking towards the north, taken when the hypocaust 13 was only partially opened. A view of this piece of the wall as seen from the east is also given in a former engraving. A few of the backs of the broken flue-tiles are found still attached to the wall, the surface of which is, as will be seen, covered with the impressions of the surfaces of others, which were usually striated with lines in various patterns, to give them a firmer hold on the mortar. This great accumulation of flue-tiles must have been intended to give to this room a very high degree of temperature, and we are perhaps justified in calling it the *caldarium*. A small square room, 15, with the herring-bone brick pavement, adjoins this hypocaust, and projects beyond what appears to be the eastern boundary-wall of the building. This no doubt served some purpose connected with the apartment 13—possibly it may have been a room for ointment, an *elæothesium*; but it must be remarked that these two rooms have their exact counterparts in 11 and 14 on the other side of the large room 12. The latter may be a *tepidarium*. Passages at the north-western

corner of the room 13 appear to have communicated directly with the three rooms 12, 19, and 20. The southern part of this last room, which may have been a *frigidarium*, has been opened, and was found to contain a cold water bath, the floor of which was formed of a tessellated pavement, consisting of a uniform field of small delicate cream-coloured tessellæ, placed together without the slightest attempt at the introduction of a pattern. The seats remain round part of this bath, and there are indications on the wall as though there had once been a wooden floor above, perhaps surrounding the bath, though it may have belonged to some alteration in the purpose of the building. The most remarkable circumstance, however, observed in the southern wall of this room is that, instead of being covered with the usual facing of stucco, or plaster, it had been ornamented with mosaic work—a tessellated wall, of which a small fragment of a single gilloche border is all that now remains. But in the earlier period of our excavations, a short trench having been dug into the southern end of the room 16, the wall corresponding to that I have just described, was found to have been ornamented in the same manner, much more of the tessellated work remaining in its place, of which several pieces were broken off, and one of them at least is preserved in the museum at Shrewsbury. In the work found here, the tessellæ, which were one-half by three-fifths of an inch square, were alternately of dark and light stones. From this circumstance, we are led naturally to suppose that the room 16 was the counterpart of 20; and no doubt 19 had the same relationship to 17. The latter has been opened, and contains a hypocaust still supporting its floor of cement, though this is considerably damaged. We have thus two uniform sets of apartments which have been intended severally for the same purposes, and which, as it is equally evident, were baths; and this can hardly be explained but by the supposition that they were intended for people of different sexes—the men's baths and the women's

baths. Possibly the large room 18 may have been a large vestibule common to both, but it has not yet been explored. The men's baths ran probably to the west, and included the large rooms 8 and 7, for they appear usually to have been more spacious and complicated than those of the other sex. At Pompeii, the semicircular apse of a large room not unlike that marked 7 in our plan, contained the *labrum*, or large basin, which was furnished with hot water through a pipe at the bottom.

We have not yet satisfactorily discovered the position and character of the entrance, or entrances, to the baths of Uriconium. I once believed that the large breach in the Old Wall might occupy the site of a principal entrance, on the supposition that this has been caused first by the tearing away of large stones, which had formed the doorway, and which would furnish better materials for building than the rests of the masonry, and also because a portion of a column was found near this opening in excavating on the other side of the wall. But I have since met with what appears to me to be decisive evidence that I was wrong. In the collection of old drawings in the library of the Society of Antiquaries of London, there is a very curious sketch, taken from the south, of what is called, "The Old Work of Wroxeter," drawn near the beginning of the last century, that is about a hundred and fifty years ago, of which we give a facsimile, on a somewhat reduced scale, in the accompanying plate.* In this drawing, what is now called the Old Wall appears in a much more perfect state than at present, and portions of the continuation of it westward are seen above ground nearly, if not quite, to its termination. The line of wall, also, which formed the southern boundary of the first series of rooms, opposite the Old Wall, is also seen to the height of about a yard above ground. But, which is most

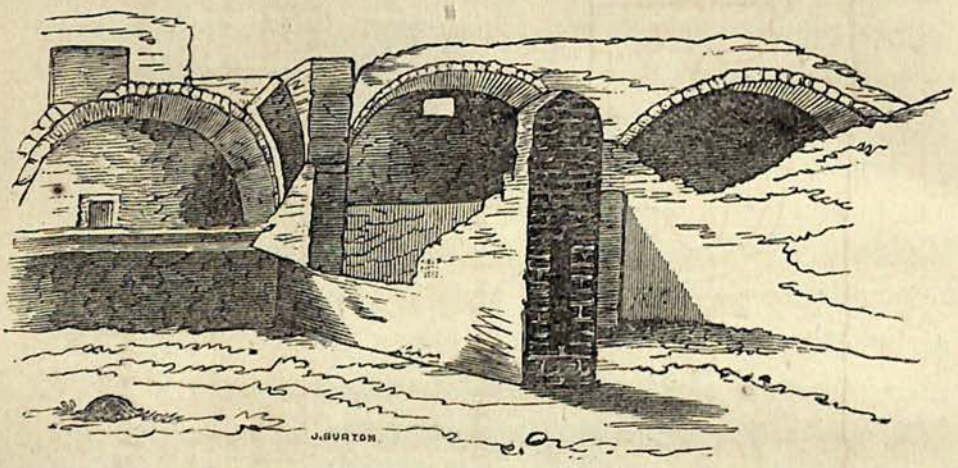
* Collection of Drawings, &c., in the Library of the Society of Antiquaries, vol. ii. p. 12. It bears no date of the time when the drawing was made, but the date of its presentation to the Society of Antiquaries, which may have been a few years later, is stated in the following words:—"Societati Antiquariæ Londini dono dedit reverendus vir Mr. Carte, senr., de Leicester."

important to our present purpose, in the middle of the central arch of the Old Wall, instead of the present great opening from the ground, there is merely an irregular hole, of no great dimensions, and evidently broken through from some cause or other, at a recent period. It is clear, therefore, that the entrance to the baths was not through this part of the Old Wall. On the paper of this drawing the following description is written, no doubt by the draughtsman :—"The main wall now standing is 30 yards long, and the foundation from it westward is 40 yards, so that the whole wall and foundation is 70 yards long. The middle arch is 6 yards high from the ground, but from the floor much higher. It is 6 yards broad. The other two only 4 yards broad, but exactly the same height. *The hole in the middle arch* is supposed to be bulged through, and so is the other. The two straight black strokes at each end are two smooth walls coming out at the ending of the arches. The foundation answering the main wall and arches [*i.e.*, the parallel wall at the opposite end of the rooms] is ten yards from it. The two rows of tiles go quite through the wall. The outside of the wall is built exactly as you see it, the stones laid exactly across one another, but in the middle is all manner of rubbish and pebbles. The arches seem to be covered with the same as the wall. There are standing out some rugged pieces a yard and half from the wall. The wall is 8 yards high now from the ground. The north side of the wall is smooth and even, only you may see some small holes in it like scaffold holes."

It is clear from the foregoing facts, and from other considerations, that what is now called the "Old Wall" was only the boundary wall, on this side, of the building containing the baths.

Before leaving this part of the building, I will point out a rather curious resemblance it bears to a part of that of the public baths at Pompeii, which also was covered with barrel vaults. The accompanying cut represents the remains of the

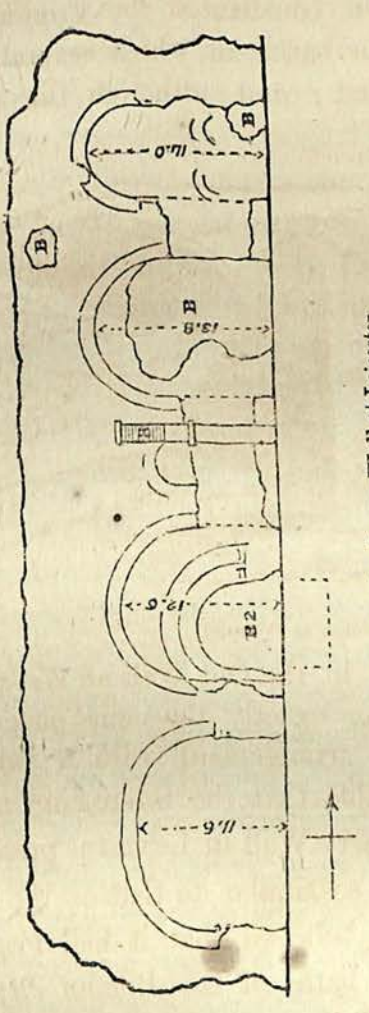
three rooms which, at Pompeii, constituted the Frigidarium, Tepidarium, and Caldarium, or baths, in which severally the water was cold, tepid, and hot; and, although the rooms



A part of the Public Baths at Pompeii.

represented by the three arches in the Old Wall at Wroxeter may not have been employed for exactly the same purposes, yet we see an exactly similar arrangement, with a similar kind of vaulting. It is remarkable that the interesting mass of Roman masonry called the Jewry Wall in Leicester presents an appearance in some respects so similar to that of the Old Wall at Wroxeter, that I once believed that it had formed similarly a part of the public baths of the Roman city of Ratæ, an appropriation which I believe was first suggested by Dr. Priestley. In fact, it will be seen by the elevation, in outline, given in the accompanying cut, that the front of the Leicester wall presents an appearance not dissimilar to that of Wroxeter, which will be better understood by the next cut, which represents a section of it.* This view was sustained by Mr. J. F. Hollings, in a lecture on Roman Leicester, printed by the Leicester Literary and Scientific Society; but more recent

* The following explanation of the reference to the cuts, for the loan of which I am indebted to Mr. Hollings, is taken from his printed Lecture on Roman Leicester: "A.—Filled up with rubble. B.—Modern brickwork. C.—Original thickness of the wall." There have been here arched doors of the Roman period, through the wall, but this building has evidently gone through many alterations, and these arches might not have belonged to the original building.


B
B
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sage which runs between the "Enamellers" workshop, which will be described further on, and the supposed market place; it would have entered the building just at the southern wall of the baths themselves. But this has only in its favour the negative evidence that we know nothing to the contrary, while it has against it, which I look upon as the serious objection, that it would cross the ambulatorium. I am, therefore, of opinion that the main entrance to the baths was through the doorway already described, (5, on the plan), by which we first crossed the line of the Old Wall at the beginning of our excavations, and which was entered by a step from the passage between the Balnea and the Basilica. This doorway leads into a court, of rather small dimensions, in which we had immediately in face of us the semicircular end of the room 7. The ground here has been so imperfectly explored, that we can hardly tell what we had to the east, but parallel walls have been traced from which we might be induced to suppose that there was a flight of steps ascending eastward to the level of the floors of the various rooms, and leading on one hand to the head of the staircase 9, and communicating on another hand with a long passage, that in which were found the remains of *graffiti*, or inscriptions traced on the plaster of the wall, and from which, to the right and left, the various rooms of the baths were entered.

The ground to the south of the entrance door 5 and the semicircular building opposite has not yet been excavated, and we are entirely ignorant whether it was a continuation of the open court up to the wall of the ambulatorium, or whether it contained any other buildings. But to the west of the large room (7), parallel walls (10) have joined it to the wall of the ambulatorium, and include a mass of what appear to have been low walls forming a depository of fuel for the use of the fires of the hypocausts, with which it communicated. In it were found abundant evidences of its former purpose, and, besides charcoal, many small pieces of mineral coal, cinders of which had been

found in the hypocausts themselves. The arrangement of this system of walls, which are tolerably well preserved, is shewn with sufficient accuracy in the plan.

The original extent of the western part of the buildings of the Balnea towards the south appears to have been limited by the southern wall of the rooms 10, 7, 8, and 11. From the eastern end of the latter, a wall, F, ran southward, and formed the western limit of another building, of which I will speak presently. This wall was the eastern boundary of an extensive square open court, which was bounded on the north by the buildings of the baths, just described, and on the west and south by the ambulatorium. This great court, as I have already stated, has only been imperfectly explored on the southern side, and it was found that the centre was occupied by a large tank or reservoir, no doubt of cold water, (E.) It and the building to the eastward, containing the supposed bath D, are at present in great part buried under the heaps of earth thrown up from the excavations. On the northern end of the interior of the latter building a numerous series of pillars of a hypocaust were found, but whether they formed a continuation of the room 12, or belonged to a room adjoining to it, is at present uncertain. In the southern wall of this building, there has evidently been an entrance, or perhaps two, of tolerable magnitude, as appears by the side walls, and, internally, the building has here evidently undergone considerable alterations at different times, as even the elevation of the floor has been changed. The western wall, which is well preserved in its whole extent to the height of five or six feet, has been covered with stucco outwardly towards the great court, much of which was perfect when uncovered, but it soon perished through exposure to the atmosphere.

The great court appears to have extended originally up to the southern wall of the rooms 10, 7, 8, 11, but at a later period new buildings were erected, adjoining to this wall, and encroaching upon the court to the southward, but to what

extent is not known, as this part of the site has been very imperfectly explored. The walls are of inferior masonry, and are merely built up to the wall of the older building, without being in any other way united with it. The part hitherto uncovered consists of four very small rooms, but they present no features to lead us even to form a conjecture as to the purpose for which they were designed. In one of them were found a part of a cornice with rather elegant mouldings, some other materials from the ruin of the buildings, and a large mass of iron, which presents some appearanee of having been exposed to a powerful fire. This room was entered by two steps from a little recess of the court, at F, between the wall of this latter building and the original wall of the great court.

This recess in the court, when the ground was uncovered in the course of the excavations, was extremely interesting in several points of view. The view in our engraving represents the eastern wall, the original boundary wall of the great court on this side—to the left we have a part of the Old Wall, to the right the mound of earth thrown out from the excavations, and in the distance the Wrekin. It will be seen that, at some period, a great breach has been made in this piece of wall, and it had been built up with masonry very inferior to that of the rest of the wall. But, which is still more interesting, further building operations were evidently in progress at the time of the attack in which the town was destroyed, and were no doubt interrupted by the approach of the enemies. On the ground were found three blocks of stone, one of which has since been raised to the top of the wall, where it is seen in the engraving. These blocks had been in the hands of the stone-cutters, who, when they were interrupted, had begun to form them roughly into shape, and in this very unfinished condition they are now found. They appear to have been designed to form the top of the arches of doorways or windows. They present curious evidence of the degree of vital activity which continued to exist in this town down to the very moment of its ruin.

Other materials for building also lay scattered about the ground, a heap of which, as they were piled up against the wall by the excavators, are seen to the right in our view. Among them are rather numerous blocks of a sort of artificial tufa, made chiefly of vegetable materials, and cut into the form of modern bricks. It appears to have been employed indiscriminately with the squared stones in the facing of the walls. I have been informed that a similar artificial substance for the same purpose is still, or has very recently been made in Suffolk.* Leaves and branches of trees, mixed with mud or clay, are beaten up together, until they are kneaded into a consistant mass, which is left to dry, and, when sufficiently hard, is cut into these small square blocks. In course of time this Roman artificial tufa has attained the hardness of stone. But the leaves, in this state of petrifaction, have preserved their forms so perfectly, that, when broken, they actually offer studies for the modern botanist. Pieces picked up at Wroxeter, have offered, among others, abundance of leaves of the Quercus robur and pedunculata, the ordinary modern oaks of the British forest, the black thorn, the willow with short rounded leaves, and the alder, with some grasses. All these have been observed by my excellent friend, Mr. Samuel Wood, of Shrewsbury, who pointed out to me a curious question which is decided by the vegetable remains preserved in this artificial tufa. Lindley held the opinion, which some other botanists have shared, that the modern oak of our forests is not the original British oak, but that it was the Quercus sessiliflora,

* I have since received the following information, furnished to Mr. Wood by a Suffolk friend.—"I have been from home, or would have replied to your enquiries respecting "TUFA" in SUFFOLK. I told you we used it, but now it is quite given up, excepting in a few villages. The last walls built with it, at our own farm at Cretingham in Suffolk, was about the year 1841, or 2. They used for mixing with the *clay*, what they call hanbur; it was the stubble left in wheat fields where the sickle was used, and afterwards mown; this was stamped by *horses* into the clay, plenty of water being used, and the *worst* horses we had, as it strained them so much; it was then moulded into brick, 18 by 9, so that the walls were eight inches thick; the bricks were allowed to dry for several days, and were then laid with a thinner paste of the same composition. We have still two sheds, and six or eight cottages in the village, built in this manner. I will write for information if still used. But the great fault in the walls was this—the stock would lick and bite them, until they got great holes through, and in addition, the *frost*, just where they stood on the wet ground, crumbled them away so. Sticks and leaves were used at one time, as I have picked them out of very old walls, but I never saw any put in; the haulm was more easily got at.

which he strongly recommended for planting and cultivation as growing quicker and producing better timber than the common oak, and at the same time forming a very handsome and straight tree. When such ancient examples as, in our own county, the Shelton or Glendwr Oak, the Lady Oak at Cressage, and the Boscobel Oak, all Quercus robur and pedunculata, were adduced, these were rejected as of comparatively modern date, and affording no evidence of what grew there in British or in Roman times, but the examples found in this Roman artificial tufa leave no further room for doubt on the question. It may be remarked, that there were portions of the branches mixed up with the leaves, which, decaying and leaving holes, made this artificial tufa lighter than it would otherwise have been.

We have, no doubt, ascertained quite satisfactorily, the limits of the site of the public baths of Uriconium, towards the north, west, and south, but they are less certain on the eastern side. At first I imagined that they were bounded on this side by a line drawn G to K in the plan, but one or two hot and dry summers have furnished evidence that this is not the case. At the time when the vegetation is most effected by the heat and drought, we can distinctly trace, looking down from the summit of the mound of earth raised from the excavations, lines of walls which exist under ground, to a little distance eastward, which appear to have formed part of the building of the Balnea. But it will only be by excavation that we shall ascertain the true character of these buried buildings.

The existence of public baths of such considerable extent, in a town so remote from the centre of the Roman power as Uriconium, shows us that the Romans carried into their most distant settlements the same love of personal cleanliness which characterised them so strongly in Italy. That there was no diminution in the importance attached to these public baths in Uriconium during the Roman period, but that, as a social institution, they were in full activity to the last, is proved by the state in which they were found when excavated, by the

remains of the fuel, some of it only imperfectly burnt in the hypocausts, by the skeletons found in the hypocausts, and by the money they carried, and by the circumstance that repairs were going on in the buildings at the time when the town was attacked and destroyed. Under the weight of this catastrophe the baths of Uriconium of course ceased to be frequented. But there is no reason for supposing that the use of the Roman baths was discontinued by the populations of the Roman towns which stood their ground, as was the case with most of the large towns, after the imperial authority was withdrawn. That this was not the case on the continent we can have no doubt, and it would be far from an uninteresting labour to investigate the question, how long the use of the Roman baths continued in Western Europe during the middle ages. The disuse of the Roman hot air bath arose, perhaps, from the neglect, and eventual abandonment of the hypocaust, among people who did not yet sufficiently appreciate it, but still more perhaps from the exaggerated ascetic spirit which was early introduced into the Christian Church, which taught that it was man's duty to mortify his body, and not cherish or cleanse it, in fact, that filth was more grateful to God than cleanliness. I believe it is told, as a most satisfactory proof of the extreme piety of a saint, that he washed only once in a year, or in a very long space of time. Yet public baths continued to exist, and are alluded to not unfrequently in the saints' lives. We are told of baths which were frequented more than others, because a very revered saint had used them, and was supposed by that circumstance to have conferred miraculous powers upon the waters, and another refused to enter the bath because he saw a heretic among the crowd who were using it. Moreover, some of the earlier mediæval writers speak of the fees which were given to the bath-keepers. In England, one of the capitula of Theodore of Canterbury, (in the first half of the seventh century), is directed against the practice of men entering the same bath with women, and enjoins, as a penance

for each act of this description, three days' fasting.* This must, of course, relate to a public bath; and, moreover, the baths which the church objected to were warm baths, which were considered as a luxury, and it was looked upon as a punishment to be compelled to abstain from them. One of the ecclesiastical canons enacted under king Edgar, enjoins to a man as a penance, among other things, "nor that he come into a warm bath *(on wearmum bæthe)*, nor into a soft bed, nor taste flesh," &c. That the Roman bath was foreign to the habits of the Anglo-Saxons before they came into this island is evident from their difficulty in naming it in their language; for in their vocabularies they represented the Latin word, *thermæ* by *bædh-stede* and *bædh-stow*, a bath-place, or by *bædh-hus*, a bath-house, and they translate *apodyterium*, the name the Romans gave to one of the rooms, by *badhiendra manna hus*, the bathing men's house, *thær hi hi unsrcredadh inna*, in which they undress themselves.† The warm bath, nevertheless, continued under the Anglo-Saxons, to form one of the luxuries, and even of the necessities of the household. Among the duties of charity, the canons just quoted enumerate to "feed the needy, and clothe, house, and fire, *bathe*, and bed them;" and again, the good man was enjoined to "give the shelter of his house, and meat and protection to those who need it; and fire, and food, and bed, *and bath*." On the contrary, the cold bath is spoken of as itself a punishment and penance; and to mortify a man's body against lust, it is ordered, "let him suffer cold and cold bath, *tholige cyl and cold bædh ongean tha hliwthe*."§ But it was only in the east that the vapour baths of the Romans continued to preserve their true character, which has been there preserved to the

* *De illis qui cum mulieribus in balneo sese laverint.* Si quis in balneo se lavare præsumpserit cum mulieribus, tres dies pœniteat, et ulterius non præsumat. Thorpe's *Ancient Laws and Institutes of England*, vol. ii., p. 71.

† See my *Volume of Vocabularies*, pp. 37 and 57.

‡ Thorpe's *Ancient Laws and Institutes of England*, vol. ii., pp. 280, 282, 284.

present day; in our west they had already degenerated mostly into nothing more than tubs full of hot water.

The extent and rather laborious arrangements of these baths show the great attention and care bestowed by the Romans on the cleanliness and sanitary condition of the population of their towns, even in their distant provinces like Britain. There can be no doubt, from allusions in ancient writers, that the Roman towns were provided with public establishments for the easements of nature, but they are establishments of which, from the subject itself, we have least reason to expect any particular descriptions. One name for such a place was *forica*, a word the derivation of which is somewhat doubtful. Juvenal, speaking of the worthless people who obtained employments then more or less reputable or lucrative, describes them as descending eventually to their own level, and becoming the keepers of *foricæ*, or, as such officers were then called, *foricarii*, who received a small fee in this character.

——" inde reversi
Conducunt foricas."—*Juvenal, Sat. III., l.* 38.

The commentators on Juvenal regard these as public privies, but there is so much of uncertainty in the question, that others hold this interpretation to be wrong, and assert that the *foricæ* were common taverns, so named because they were situated in the neighbourhood of the forum. The same difference of opinion exists with regard to the word *latrina* itself, which, according to some critics, means a place not for easement, but merely for washing. However, the manner in which this word is explained in the later glossaries and vocabularies seems to show that these critics were in the wrong. In the later period of the western empire, several different names were given to these establishments, perhaps from a sentiment of euphuism, such as *hypodromum*, literally, a place of refuge, *spidromum* and *spondoromum*, (presenting, apparently, a similar meaning, these being what might be called

"hard words," derived from the Greek,) *secessus*, a place of retreat, and others, but *latrina* appears to have been the word most generally in use, and best understood.* An early list of the buildings, &c., in ancient Rome, informs us that there were in that city a hundred and fourteen public latrinæ.†

We have no information as to the form of these public latrinæ in the Roman towns. But some years ago the attention of our antiquaries was called to circular pits, of small diameter, but of rather considerable depth, found in a part of the city of Winchester, the *Venta Belgarum* of the Romans. The discovery of such pits in Winchester was found to be not an uncommon occurrence, and they all contained objects of undoubted Roman manufacture, such as broken pottery, coins, and objects in bronze and other metals, but I believe they were mostly opened under the eyes of ignorant or unskilful observers, and that none of them were carefully examined. The object of these pits could only be guessed at, but, on account of the very miscellaneous character of the objects found in them, they were called by the antiquaries of that day rubbish pits. Somewhat later, a number of similar pits were found at Ewell in Surrey. These appear to have formed a sort of group of circular pits sunk in the solid chalk rock; they were from twelve to thirty-seven feet deep, and from two feet two inches to four feet in diameter. The soil with which they were filled contained animal bones, fragments of Samian ware and other pottery, broken glass, Roman coins, and other objects, such as one might suppose to have been thrown or dropped accidentally into an open pit. Ewell stands nearly on the line of the Roman road from London to Chichester, the

* The same use of indirect terms for the privy prevailed among our Anglo-Saxon forefathers, with whom the most common name was *gang*, *gong*, or *genga*, meaning simply, a place where people went, and its compounds, such as *gang-ærn*, a gang corner, *gang-pitte*, a gang-pit, *gang-settl*, a gang-seat, *gang-tun*, a gang enclosure, &c. This word *gong* was preserved in the English language to a late period. The Anglo-Saxons also applied to the place the adjective *digle*, private or secret, as *digle-hus*, the secret house, *digel-gang-ern*, the secret gang corner. The Anglo-Saxon vocabularies have preserved another name, *gold-hord-hus*, a gold treasure house, or gold treasury, which is still more curious from its connexion with the name *gold-finder*, or *gold-farmer*, given as late as the seventeenth century to cleaners of privies. It is at this time still in use in Shrewsbury to designate such men.

† Latrinæ publicæ cxiv. *Victor de Regionibus Urbis*, in *Grævius*, *tom.* iv. *col.* 1433.

Regnum of the Romans. These pits at Ewell are described in the thirty-second volume of the Archæologia of the Society of Antiquaries (p. 451), by Dr. Diamond, who started the, as I thought, unfortunate theory that they were sepulchral. The mystery, however, was cleared up when, some years later, the railway was made from Minster to Sandwich, in the construction of which a part of the hill at Richborough, on the summit of which stand the ruins of the citadel of Roman *Rutupiæ*, was cut away, and pits of the same description were laid open to view. There could be no doubt that these pits had been latrinæ, public places for personal easement. The diameter of these pits at Richborough was so small, and their depth so considerable, that it is difficult to imagine by what process they were formed. They contained in abundance the same description of miscellaneous objects which were found in the pits at Winchester and Ewell, and the earth taken from the bottom was pronounced by an experienced chemist, who examined it, to be the remains of stercoraceous matter.* These pits appear to have been arranged in a rather considerable group on the top of the hill of Richborough, outside the walls of the citadel, and they were no doubt covered with seats, and with some kind of superstructure, probably of wood. We had here then discovered one form of the public latrinæ of the Roman towns in Britain; but the excavations at Wroxeter have shown us that the latrinæ, or foricæ, of Uriconium were much more perfect in their character.

I have already mentioned that, in the passage, or alley, there was a doorway (6), with a stone step which was very much worn by the action of the feet, and, as I have also observed, we did not cross the line of the old wall to the southward at this place. Since then, however, the excavations have been carried on extensively on the ground to the south, and have exposed to view the buildings represented in our plate.

* The pits at Ewell have since been further examined by Mr. C. Warne, who found in them unmistakable evidence of their having been *latrinæ*.

Our view is taken from the line of the Old Wall looking southward; before us is seen the steeple of Wroxeter church, and in the distance the Wenlock hills, with Lawley Hill and Caer Caradoc on the right. It will be seen that the building in front consists of four parallel walls running south from the line of the Old Wall. The distance between the two walls to the left is only a little more than two feet, and the appearance of the floor at the bottom left no doubt, when opened, that it had been a drain into which refuse had been dropped, which had been carried off apparently by a continuation of the drain under the buildings to the north, in the same directon, and no doubt in the same manner, as the drain we discovered more to the east running under the rooms marked 12 and 19 on the plan. The earth at the bottom presented similar characteristics to that found in the pits at Richborough, and in it were found fragments of pottery and other objects, among which was a small earthen vessel containing almost unbroken the shell of a hen's egg. This is preserved in the Wroxeter Museum at Shrewsbury. From some indications on these walls, we are led to believe that it was originally covered with wood-work—in fact, a row of seats of a privy. The similar space between the two walls on the other side, or to the west, is rather more than five feet wide, and if designed for the same purpose, was perhaps somewhat differently arranged. It will be seen that there is a slight set-off on the wall to the right at the same elevation at which there is a row of holes on the wall opposite, which seem to have been intended for the support of a wooden structure, but of what kind I will not venture to conjecture. It appears, with the drain on the other side, to have formed part of the arrangements of one and the same building. The middle compartment, which is about fifteen feet and a half wide, has been filled up with earth so as to form a floor, which was covered with a pavement of small bricks set in herring-bone pattern, and, as this description of pavement seems to

have been generally used where it was exposed to the open air, this part of the building was perhaps without a roof. A portion of the pavement still remains as shewn by the shading in the engraving. There are no traces of an entrance in the southern wall of this building, but the door with the worn step, alluded to above, appears to have led to the middle opening with the herring-bone pavement. Unfortunately, through accidental circumstances, we have not yet been able to carry the excavations close up to the northern walls, so as to identify the portion of the door, and ascertain how the drains passed under the basilica.

We have thus, in these two forms of supplying a want which would hardly be thought of in a low state of civilization, and which has been supplied only very imperfectly even in recent times, evidence of the refinement of Roman society carried into Britain. How long such establishments were preserved in the far west after the fall of the Roman power, we have no longer the means of knowing. Perhaps the Anglo-Saxon name of *gang-pit* may be considered an evidence of the continued existence of such pits as those found at Winchester, Ewell, and Richborough; but the larger buildings containing rows of seats like that which appears to have existed at Uriconium certainly continued to exist in the middle ages, and were in fact not only the models of the great latrinæ of the monastic and other establishments, but of those of the larger private mansions which have only been discontinued at a very recent period. The more we look into the minute details of manners of former days, the more we become convinced to what an extent mediæval society was merely Roman society degraded, that is, modified gradually in its adoption by the "Barbarians" who had seized upon the Roman provinces.

CHAPTER IV.

THE LITTLE MARKET PLACE; WORKSHOPS, TRADES, AND PROFESSIONS; THE FORUM OF URICONIUM.

We had found, by the discoveries related in the last chapter, that the principal public buildings of a utilitarian character, its basilica or court-house, its public baths, and its public latrinæ, were proportionate to the extent of the town as indicated by the course of the line of its surrounding wall. We have been able further to bring to light one or two other buildings of a more or less public character. The basilica, as I have already stated, appeared to have formed the corner of two streets crossing each other at right angles. The side of the street running nearly east and west was explored as far as it was in our power to explore it, namely, to the hedge forming the eastern boundary of the field, and it appeared to have been formed entirely of the basilica, or of buildings or walls connected with it. With the side of the transverse street running southward, this was not the case. The western end of the basilica, in which was apparently the principal entrance into its central area, abutted upon the street; but the baths, and even the latrinæ, lay back, leaving a considerable space between these walls and the street, which there could be little doubt had been covered with buildings. These, after having satisfied ourselves of the character of the buildings we had already opened, we proceeded to explore.

It was soon found that a line of wall extended continuously southward from the end of the basilica and in continuation of its southern face. In tracing this wall to the south,

the excavators came to two openings, at some distance apart, which induced us immediately to explore the ground on the other side of the wall. The first of these openings was twelve feet wide, at an elevation of two or three feet from the level of the street, and had been approached by an inclined plane, the central part of which was formed by three great blocks of squared stone, and the rest apparently of smoothed concrete. These stones which are represented in the engraving as they now lie, were, when first uncovered, in their original position, as forming part of the inclined plane. The other opening through the wall was at the same elevation, but it was approached by two steps. Both entrances were found to lead into the same inclosure, a quadrangular court about forty feet square, paved with the same herring-bone brickwork which we have met with in other parts of these ruins. This extended over the whole space, except apparently in the centre, where, over a small extent, there were no traces of the former existence of pavement, and the appearance of the ground, when examined, led us to suppose that it might have been occupied by some structure, the remains of which had been all cleared away for building materials. On the northern and southern sides of this court we found a series of square rooms, marked *g, g, g,* on the plan, four on the northern side, and three on the southern, each about twelve feet square. Our view of the larger entrance represents these rooms on the northern side when three of them had been partly opened. The one nearest the street, shewn in front of our view, which is the only one yet cleared out, was found to be no less than ten feet deep, with a low cross wall at the bottom. In it was found a quantity of unburnt charcoal, with some remains of mineral coal. In two of the rooms, one on the north side, the other on the south, great quantities of bones of various animals and horns of stags were found; and, as many of these had been cut and sawed, the notion suggested itself that they may have been stores of the materials used by the manufacturers of the objects made of bone

which are found so numerously among the ruins of Uriconium, and, in fact, that all these square chambers were depôts of materials for sale. This conjecture appeared to receive some confirmation from the circumstance that a number of undoubted weights were picked up in the court, which would seem to show that articles of some kind had been delivered out by weighing. The larger entrance is supposed to have been intended for horses, and perhaps for carts; and this supposition seems confirmed by the circumstances that the pavement on this side of the court had evidently been much damaged and repaired in Roman times, and that a portion of an iron horseshoe was found upon it. The appearance of the southern, or smaller, entrance to the court was still more remarkable. It had evidently been the entrance for people on foot. The appearance of the two steps by which it was approached, will be best understood by the view on our plate. One corner of the stone forming the lower step is quite worn away, and the stone of the upper step had been so much worn and hollowed by the same cause—the feet of those who had walked over it—that it broke into three pieces when the excavators attempted to raise it. There is also, on the most worn side of this upper stone, corresponding exactly to the worn corner of the lower stone, a deep hollow, in the form of a man's foot, which looks as though it had been scooped out intentionally, for we can hardly suppose it to have been worn into this form merely by people treading upon it. The condition of these steps proves that this quadrangular court must have been frequented by a great number of people on foot, and that the concourse of visitors came up the street from the south. After a fair consideration of the facts above enumerated, my opinion is that this quadrangular court was a market place, the *nundinæ*, or *forum nundinarium* of the Roman town of Uriconium. We have thus an unique illustration of one of those social institutions which have been handed down to us by the ancient Romans.

The market was an institution the origin of which the Roman antiquaries carried back to a very remote date. In fact, from the moment when people began to settle and cultivate the land, they soon saw the necessity of some arrangement of this kind. Each cultivator naturally produced more than he wanted of some articles, and less than he wanted of others, and others again, which gradually became necessaries, he might not produce at all; he felt, therefore, the want of some means of carrying his superfluities to exchange them with those who possessed in superfluity the things he wanted, for, before money was invented, all commerce was carried on by exchange, and with the Romans the institution of a market preceded that of a mint. The place naturally chosen for such meeting would be the town of the district or tribe, but, unless strictly regulated, this sort of commerce would lead to great confusion and inconvenience, for the town would be continually embarrassed by the number of rustic visitors, while the labour of agriculture was neglected. As a remedy, the earlier kings divided the year into periods of nine days, and made the ninth day a holy day, on which the agricultural population was to abstain from work, and might go into the town to sell and buy and transact other business which appertained to them, such as settling private disputes by law. The Romans had a peculiar method of reckoning time, according to which each ninth day was counted as the first of the next nine, so that seven days only intervened, and in truth the market was held every eighth day and not on the ninth.* Nevertheless, the Romans considered it as the ninth day, and called it *nundinæ*, a word contracted from *novendinæ*, and derived from *novem*, nine. According to Macrobius, some ascribed the institution of the nundinæ to Romulus himself, while others said that they originated with Servius Tullius. They were the only days on which the rural

* It may be remarked that traces of this mode of reckoning are still found in countries where the Roman element prevails. Thus the French call a week *huit jours*, and a fortnight *quinze jours*. The Italians say *quindici giorni*, for a fortnight; and the Spaniards *quinze dias*. Even the Germans say *acht tage*, eight days, for a week.

population was allowed to go into Rome, while, during the intervening seven, rustics were confined to their agricultural labours; and hence these seven days were called *dies rustici*, and those of the nundinæ *dies urbani*. These were made sacred, and placed under the protection of a goddess named Nundinæ, and people were not allowed to work or to plead in court on them. The comitia were not allowed to be held on these days, but this regulation is said to have arisen from the fear that the influx of country people would interfere with the debates.* As, however, the principal business of the day was buying and selling, the nundinæ were exactly equivalent to our market day, and the word itself was commonly used in the sense of a market, or even of a sale; the act of purchasing was called *nundinatio*, and the place in which the market was held was also termed *nundinæ*, or, sometimes, *forum nundinarium*. Markets of all kinds were placed under the patronage of Mercury, and a Roman inscription found at Birstadt near Wiesbaden, commemorated a dedication to Mercury in the words —

DEO MERCVRIO
NVNDINATO RI.

Deo Mercurio Nundinatori, to the god Mercury the patron of the Nundinæ.† Possibly a statue of Mercury, or a dedication to the god, may once have stood in the centre of the Nundinæ at Uriconium.

The Roman nundinæ were placed under restrictions, and subjected to the control of the senate, which alone had the right of instituting or regulating them. According to Suetonius, the emperor Claudius asked the consuls for permission to establish nundinæ on his own estates.‡ In towns in the provinces, like Uriconium, the market was perhaps considered as

* The sacred character of the nundinæ was surrounded with many superstitions, some of which were odd enough. If the first day of the year happened on the nundinæ, it was believed that the whole year would be unlucky. To avoid this misfortune the Romans had recourse to intercalation, and made the previous month a day longer. The country people shaved between the nundinæ. Pliny Hist. Nat. lib. xxviii. c. 5, tells us that it was considered ominous, in a pecuniary point of view, for a person to pare his nails without speaking on the nundinæ at Rome, or, in paring them, to begin with the forefinger.

† The inscription is given by Reinesius, Syntagma Inscriptionum Roman. tom. i., p 118, and more correctly in the recent work of Dr. Steiner, Codex Inscript. Rom. Rheni.

‡ Jus nundinarum in privata prædia a consulibus petiit. Suetonius, lib. v., c. 12.

a part of the privileges given by their municipal constitution, and was thus under the control of the municipal magistrates. At a later period the emperors exercised a control over the instituting of markets, to prevent new ones from being unnecessarily created to the injury of those already existing. After the week of seven days, dedicated to the seven gods, was adopted by the Romans, the nundinæ were moved to the last day of the week, and were thus held every seventh day, instead of the eighth. In the time of Constantine they were held on the *dies solis*, or Sunday. When the Christians adopted the Sunday as their Sabbath, the nundinæ were removed to the *dies Sabbati*, or Saturday, which was considered to be the last day of the week; but in the middle ages there was a great tendency to carry back the market to the Sunday, perhaps because it was a day on which work was not allowed.

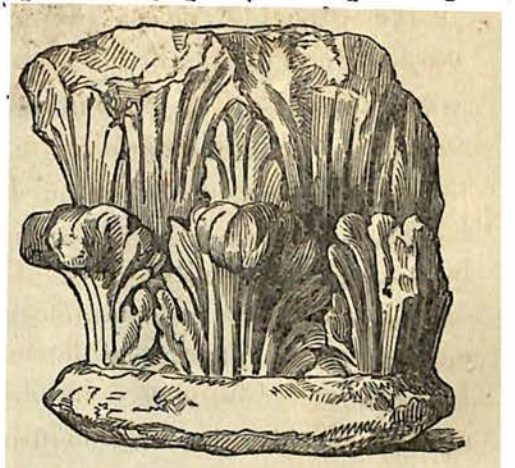
When the barbarians established themselves in the Roman provinces, the nundinæ continued to exist, as one of the municipal institutions, and its importance was too great and too evident to allow them to disregard it. The king assumed as one of his prerogatives the right of giving licence to establish them. The Romans had the *mercatus* as well as the nundinæ; but the latter was the more important and more regular institution of the two. To use the language of writers on this subject, "all nundinæ were markets, but all markets were not nundinæ."* But, in passing to the middle ages, the relation between these two words became changed, and the word *mercatus* was applied to the regular market, while the term *nundinæ* was given to the greater mercantile assemblies at particular places which we term fairs, such as those of Leipsic, Frankfort, Leyden, &c. When the Saxons and Angles settled in Britain, they brought in their language the word *ceapian*, which signifies to trade or bargain, to buy, and seemed to have belonged especially to itinerant dealers, for they do not appear

* Nundinæ omnes mercatus sunt; non omnes mercatus nundinæ. Erycii Puteani Bamelrodii De Nundinis Romanis, in Grævius, Thesaur. Antiq. tom. viii., col. 646.

to have been acquainted with the regular Roman *forum*, or market place. A sale or act of selling was called *ceap*, or *ceaping;* and they called the place where such selling took place *ceap-stow*, a place of selling, and *cēap-stræt*, the road or street in which such sale was going on, and the day fixed for such sale *ceap-dæg* or selling-day. In archbishop Alfric's Vocabulary, the Latin *nonæ*, or days of the nundinæ, are interpreted by *ceap-dagas*, market-days. The Anglo-Saxon word is now only preserved in our *chapmen*, and *chapbooks*, and in local names, such as Cheapside, the commercial quarter of mediæval London, and Chipping Norton, Chipping Ongar, and similar names. Chepstow, in Monmouthshire, was no doubt originally a regular place of market, instituted by the Saxons, because they gave it their name, *ceap-stow*, as a place of meeting for the people of both sides the border to exchange their merchandise. The Normans, with their feudal institutions, adopted the Latin word *mercatus*, the use of which had been established on the continent, and introduced it under a Frenchified form *marchet*, which became our modern word *market*, which has since entirely superseded the Saxon word. After Uriconium was destroyed, its market, or nundinæ, no doubt gradually transferred itself to the site of the present town of Shrewsbury; and in the particular ruins we are now contemplating we may perhaps see the original representative of Shrewsbury market-hall.

We have no means of judging of the character of the buildings of this quadrangular court, or market place, or of the appearance it presented towards the street, but we may suppose that its architecture was more or less ornamental, especially if we might assume that the sculptured fragments found among its ruin belonged to it. When it was excavated, the portion of the capital of a column, represented in the accompanying cut, was found lying on the floor. It is rather classical in style, and of large dimensions, for in its present state it is more than two feet high, and this is little more than two-thirds of

its original height, for an upper part of a capital, corresponding with it, was also found, and is placed over it in the Museum at Shrewsbury. As, however, this upper part evidently belonged to another capital, and not to the one here represented, there must have been at least two of them. Among other objects found on the floor of this court, were the remains of several dogs, the skull of one of which, now preserved in the Museum, bespoke an animal of the mastiff kind, of an unknown species, perhaps the British dog spoken of so much by Roman writers.



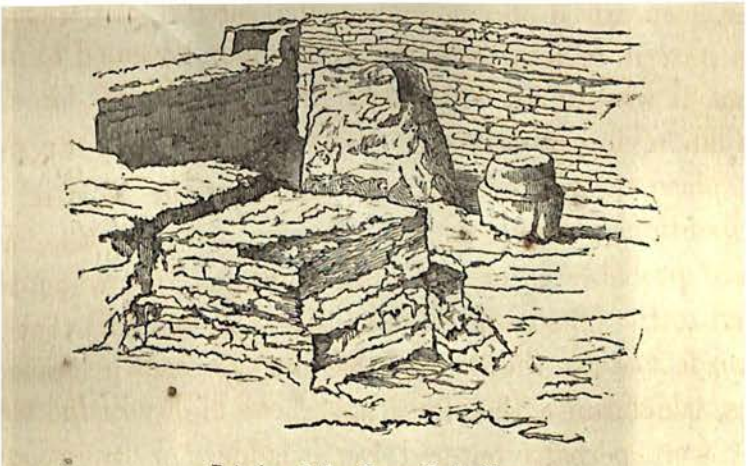
Roman Capital, from the Quadrangular Court.

It will be seen in the plan, that the series of rooms does not extend along the whole of the southern side of the court; but leaves an opening at the south-eastern corner, at H, where there was a descent, apparently by steps, to a level about two feet lower than the floor of the court, which also was paved with the small bricks in herring-bone pattern. There appeared to have been here a descent to an opening into the bottom of the easternmost of the rooms marked *g*, but the ground had been so much broken that it was not possible to decide on its true character. From this lower floor, ran, along the eastern side of the court, what we supposed at first to have been a sort of long gallery, or cryptoporticus, which had for its eastern side the outer wall of the ambulatory of the Baths, but, on being cleared out, it presented an unexpected appearance. It extends the whole length of the court and its side rooms, and is divided into compartments by transverse walls, running from the wall forming the side of the court, about half-way across the space between it and the opposite wall. A passage is thus left, which runs along the whole extent of this building, and

appears to have communicated at both extremities with openings of some kind which ran along the northern and southern sides of the buildings of the court, but which have not yet been fully explored. The present appearance of these walls at the back of the quadrangular court, or market, will be better understood by the view given in our engraving, in which the farm buildings, of which I shall soon have to speak, appear in the background. Opposite these recesses, there appears to have been a door in the wall leading from the passage or gallery in front of them into the ambulatorium of the baths. Perhaps the notion that these recesses were intended to contain shops may be considered to be confirmed by the fact, that on the floor of one of them, the northernmost, the excavators found a small cylindrical coffer, or box, in diameter about the size of an ordinary tumbler glass, and supported upon three short legs. The lid was upon it, and the decomposition of the metal had caused it to be in a manner hermetically sealed. It has, however, been sawed off since it was deposited in the Museum, and the state in which its contents were found seemed to indicate that it was in an untouched condition, as if for sale, rather than having been in use. Before we leave this supposed market place, it will be well to remark that the walls of the rooms mentioned above as bordering it on each side, and which are probably all of the same depth as that which was excavated to the bottom, as high as they now remain, that is, about two feet above the floor of the court, present no trace of entrances, which must, therefore, have been higher in the wall, and they were perhaps entered by a ladder, or by wooden steps.

In tracing back the line of the wall through which we had first entered the quadrangular court supposed to be a market place, we came to other openings at *c*, *c*, which led us into what proved to be a large square room (N), which was about thirty-eight feet in breadth and forty in length. The side of this room looking towards the street appears to have

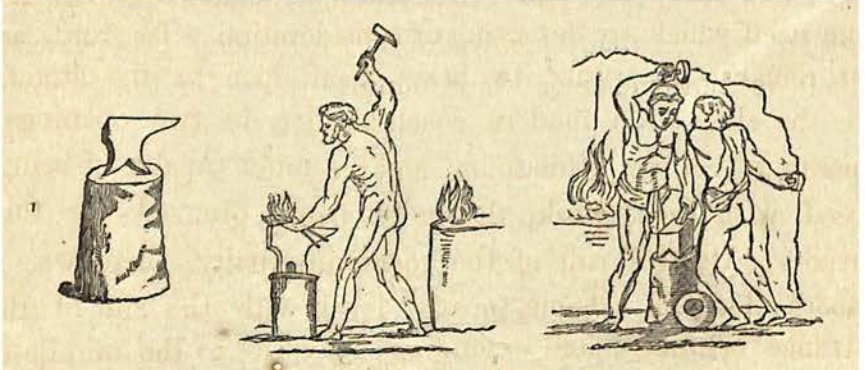
been open to it, or at least the masonry of the wall presents the appearance of having had wide doors, or a framework of wood, in two compartments, and it was soon found to have been the workshop of an artificer in metals. Towards the north-western corner of the room, at a spot marked 2 in the plan of the excavations, stood a pile in the form of a sugar loaf, about six feet high, built very roughly of clay, mixed with stones and other unprepared materials, among which were several pieces of unburnt mineral coal, a sufficient proof that that substance was plentiful in Roman Uriconium. On the eastern side of this structure, near the top, was a small furnace, which had contained a fire so intensely hot that the whole internal surface was vitrified to some depth. From the form and position of this little furnace, it is quite evident that it must have been heated by a powerful blast, no doubt of bellows, but which, with their machinery, have long disappeared. Remains of burnt charcoal were found in it, and on the ground



Interior of the Enameller's Shop.

near it. By the side of this sugar-loaf, and just opposite the furnace, stands upright a rudely-formed cylindrical stone (3) resembling the stump of a column, which was evidently used, in one way or other, for working metals which were melted, or rendered malleable, in it. These objects will be better understood by the accompanying sketch, taken from the south east.

The purpose of the cylindrical stone, at least, is easily illustrated from engraved gems, and other works of ancient art, in which are found rather numerous pictures of the forge of Vulcan, and of other scenes of a similar description, representing both the furnace and the anvil. The first of those here represented, that to the right, is taken from a sepulchral marble at Rome; the second, which represents Vulcan forging thunderbolts for Jupiter, is furnished by a gem in the old Cabinet Royal at Paris; and the third is also taken from an engraved gem. Other examples might easily be added to these, but it may be sufficient to remark that the form of the stand of the anvil is invariably the same—a short cylindrical stone or stump of a column. On comparing these with the object in our room at Wroxeter, and considering its



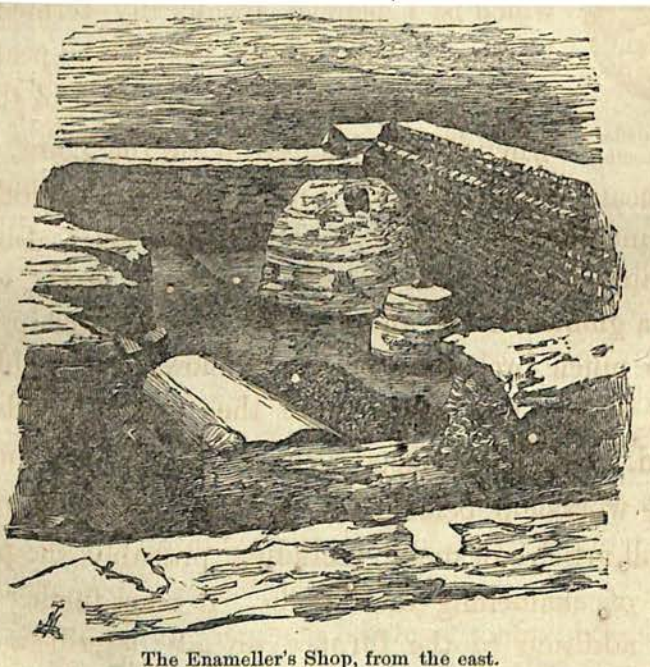
Roman Anvils, from Antiques.

position, we cannot hesitate in looking upon the latter as having been the support of an anvil. Now it has been already remarked, that in clearing the ruins of some small rooms at the north-eastern corner of the great court of the Baths, as represented in a former plate, a large mass of iron had been found, which had evidently been exposed to the action of fire, and from that cause, and the effects of decomposition, presented no very intelligible form. It lay upon remains of building materials, as though it had been dropped there, and it had evidently been carried away from its proper place. But, when examined a little more carefully, this mass

of iron presented rather distinct appearances of having formed some object resembling an anvil; and I felt convinced that it was the anvil which once stood upon the cylindrical block of stone above described, which with it would still more exactly resemble the figures I have given from the ancient gems. Some individual, probably at the time when people were breaking up the ruins to carry them away as building materials, seized upon this piece of iron, and would have carried it off also; but, perhaps finding it heavier than was convenient, he let it drop on this spot, and it was left here. The cylindrical block of stone is strongly bevelled round the top, perhaps to receive a wooden case on which the anvil was placed.

The smallness of the furnace is enough to convince us that the objects of metal made on this anvil were not on a large scale; and there are other circumstances connected with the room itself which are deserving of consideration. Its front, as just remarked, appears to have been open to the street, like the shop of a modern coach-builder, in two openings, separated by a pier of masonry, and no doubt capable of being closed with wood-work, the sides being grooved for this purpose. On this side of the room, internally, there was a smooth floor of cement, nearly level with the sill of the entrance openings, and extending not quite to the middle of the room. Beyond this, there is a floor at a much lower level, formed entirely of very fine sand, which has been brought from a distance, and placed to a considerable depth upon the natural soil of the spot. The only use we can imagine for this sand would be to form moulds for casting, and various other circumstances seem to show that this was, in fact, a workshop for the fabrication of small ornamental objects in metal. A considerable quantity of the scoriæ from molten metals were found scattered about, both within the room and outside; and many fragments of worked metal, with about a dozen bronze hair-pins, a large bronze fibula, and various other articles, were picked up in the room. The floor of sand had been supported

on the northern side by a low wall (*a*, *a*), from which another low wall (*b*, *b*,) crossed to the northern wall of the room, and between these low walls and the latter there had been a sort of pit, in which were found many pieces of scoria, and other apparent articles of refuse. On one side of the room, upon the floor of sand, was found a quantity of pounded granite, which, I am told, might be used for the purpose of enamelling; and many fragments of fine glass were also scattered about. On this same floor of sand, near the middle of the room, lay a large piece of a shaft of a column. This, however, had probably found its way here by accident, and did not, apparently, belong to this room. Objects of all kinds appear to have been thrown about in such a manner, when the town was plundered, that it would be hardly safe to pronounce upon the character of any particular building, merely from a single moveable article found in it, and, at subsequent periods, building



The Enameller's Shop, from the east.

materials were evidently, in the course of carrying them away, dropped and left in places to which they did not belong. This column may possibly have been brought from the sup-

posed market place. Its appearance and position may be seen in the foregoing cut, which represents the interior of this room, as seen from the floor of the latrinæ.

The occupants of this workshop appear to have left it hastily, when the town was taken by the barbarians; for one of them, as he passed over the sill of the front opening into the street, dropped his money, which had been placed in a small earthen vessel. The latter was found on the sill, near its northern end, at the spot shewn in our cuts, broken into fragments, and the money lying a little scattered about it. Among it was found a small circular disc resembling a button, the shank of which was broken off, and the ornamental face of which is represented, the exact size of the original, in the accompanying cut. It is formed of a thin plate of steel, on the surface of which the ornament is inlaid with silver, with very great skill, by the process which is, I believe, technically termed damaskeening. This button has the appearance of having been fresh from the hand of the maker when it was dropped with the coins, and it is by no means improbable that it was made in the workshop in the entrance to which it was found. There were also, with it, the remains of some other ornament made of metal, which had been of a globular form, and of delicate workmanship, but they were too much broken to pieces to allow us to judge satisfactorily of the real character of the object to which they belonged. All these facts seem to justify our supposition that this workshop belonged to a manufacturer of ornaments and small articles of metal, including, probably, the practice of the art of enamelling and niello. It must further be stated that, in addition to the furnace already described, there are on the higher floor of cement near the south-western corner of the room, the remains of another furnace, which was built of masonry, and heated by means of a flue; and that, in the

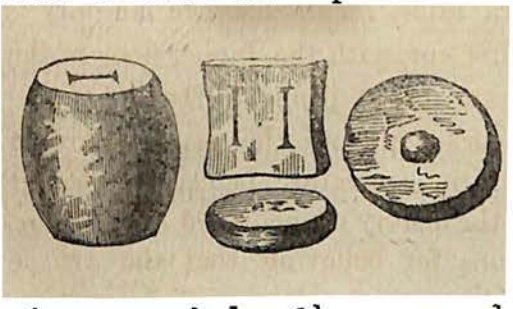
Stud, in niello, or damaskeening.

middle of the room, there is a square mass of rather rough masonry (1), with a level surface about the height of the floor, which has been intended to support some heavy object, or possibly to serve as a work table. This mass of masonry is shown in the front of our first cut, with the higher floor to the left, and the lower floor of sand before it and to the right.

The existence of this workshop, and the manufacture of enamels and niello in it (if the conjecture be correct), would form an interesting fact in the history of mediæval art. There are apparently good reasons for believing that the art of enamelling was practised at a very early period in western Europe; indeed, it has been supposed to have been invented in Gaul. It would be an important circumstance, therefore, to find the remains of an enameller's workshop which had been in active operation in a city in Britain at so early a date, and that on an apparently rather large scale. It would lead us to suppose, also, that the Anglo-Saxons, who were celebrated at a very early period for their skill in the manufacture of jewelry, and in goldsmiths' work in general, had learnt their art from the jewellers and enamellers who remained in the Roman cities which had not been destroyed.

There is another room, adjoining to this workshop, and lying between it and the wall of the basilica, which was, perhaps, also a shop, but it has not yet been opened. The excavators began to work upon it at the commencement of winter, when, as it was found that the walls were covered with stucco, and perhaps with fresco-painting, which would have been entirely destroyed by a sudden frost, they were ordered to desist, after filling up as much as they had already opened. It thus appears that the buildings extending in a line southwardly from the western end of the basilica consisted of shops and a market-place. Our judgment of the character of the latter building seems to be further justified by the fact of finding among the ruins a number of weights

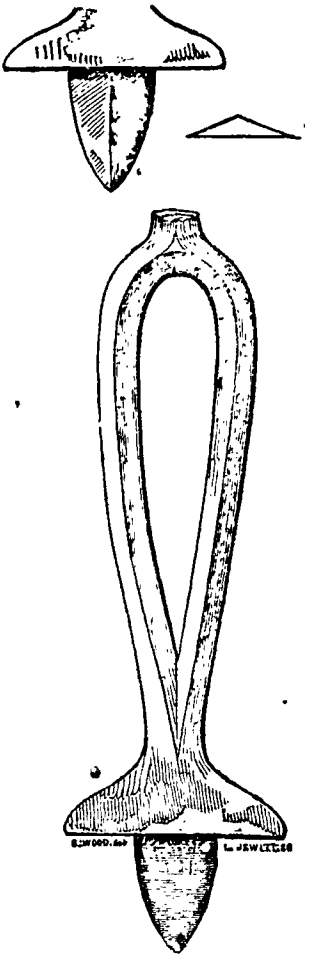
of different sizes, made of metal and of stone, some with Roman numerals, thus leaving no doubt of their true character. Four of these are represented in the accompanying cut.



Three of these are made of lead, and the larger one of stone. The latter weighs, according to our modern reckoning, 11½ ounces; the larger of the leaden weights 20½ ozs., the one marked II, 2½ ounces, and the other 2¼ ounces.

When our excavations are resumed and continued, I have no doubt that we shall trace lines of streets and shops which will throw far greater light than we at present possess on the internal economy of a town in Roman Britain. Hitherto, in regard to the trades and professions exercised within Roman Uriconium, our slight information depends merely upon a few isolated and accidental discoveries. In the autumn of 1862, in the course of the excavations in the extensive cemetery to the north of the ancient city, a grave was opened in which was found, among other small objects, a surgeon's lancet. The other objects, which had unfortunately been carelessly scattered about by the excavators before they were seen, appeared to have been inclosed, or at least a part of them, in a wooden box, the lock of which is remarkably well preserved, and has a portion of the wood of the box attached to it. Among the small objects which appeared to have been placed in this box, were some beads of coloured and striped glass, a portion of a needle or bodkin, which had somewhat the appearance of the handle of a small spoon, other small fragments of metal, and the remains of two very small earthen vessels, containing a very hard substance resembling white paint dried. It was suggested that all these seemed to be objects connected with a lady's toilette, and that therefore the lancet may not

have belonged to the box. There is no convincing reason, however, for believing that the small pots of, perhaps, ointment, the fragmentary objects, and even the beads,* may not have had some relation to the surgical art, as then practised, and we can hardly doubt that this was the grave of a Roman surgeon established in Uriconium. The accompanying cut, from a sketch by my friend Mr. Wood made immediately after its discovery, will give the best notion of this instrument. It is here represented the exact size of the original. The handle, which is in the form of a narrow oval loop, is made of bronze, at the top of which is a small projection, from which something has been broken,—probably a knob. At the other end a small circular disc forms a sort of guard to the blade, which latter is of fine steel, and triangular in its section, remaining still so sharp, that a distinguished surgeon of modern Shrewsbury, after examining it, assured me that he thought he could almost perform an operation with it in its present condition. The lancet had been placed in a wooden case, or sheath, lined internally with leather; and the more considerable fragments of the wood, which is rather coarsely grained, and leather lining of this sheath, are represented in our cut on the next page, drawn on the same scale with the instrument itself.

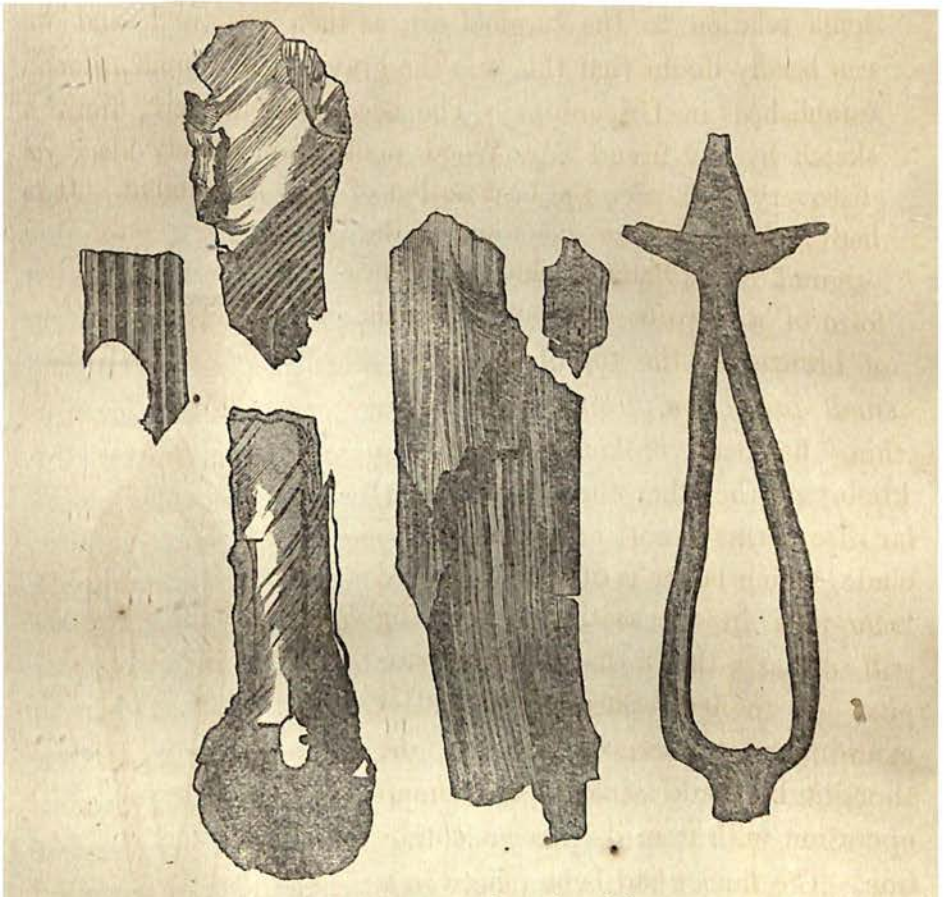


Surgeon's Lancet.

Our Roman lancet is susceptible of illustration from one object belonging to the same class. A certain number of surgical

* It has been suggested to me that the beads may have been used as peas to keep issues open.

instruments, of rather varied character, have been found in Pompeii. Among them was a case of such instruments, which is figured in Carlo Ceci's work on the smaller bronzes



Surgeon's Lancet, and remains of Case.

in the Museum at Naples, "Piccoli Bronzi del Real Museo Borbonico," published at Naples in 1858, and copied in our cut on the next page. These instruments could not be drawn out of their case in consequence of the oxidation, which had attached them altogether internally, but the breaking away of the upper end of the case has left the ends of the instruments visible. There is hardly room for a doubt that the instrument to the right is a lancet similar to the one discovered at Wroxeter. The knob is here remaining, which, in the other, was wanting.

Another example of the instrument in the middle, perfect and separate from any case, is mentioned by Ceci, and described in his Italian text as "*Instrumento cerusico formato da sottil verga che termina a punta uncinata ed acuminata,*" a surgical instrument formed of a delicate rod which terminates in a hooked and sharp point; and in the more brief description in French which accompanies the Italian, it is called *lancette cérébrale.* The third instrument, in this case, is a small spatula. There can be little doubt that the example found at Wroxeter has been a case of surgical instruments closely resembling the one found at Pompeii, and among the small fragments of bronze gathered from the debris, evidently belonging to the other instruments of the set, was one which was clearly the head of the spatula. The similarity of the shape of the handle of the lancet found at places so distant from each other as Pompeii and British Uriconium, and deposited there at periods the distance between which was probably not less than between two and three centuries, furnishes a curious example of the general uniformity of types through the Roman empire.

Case of Surgical Instruments.

We seem to know but little of the surgical practice, or the use of the lancet, among the Romans, but we learn from Celsus that the name by which this instrument was known was *scalpellus,* or, sometimes, *scalper* and *scalprum,* words which mean simply a small cutting implement; while, at a rather later period, Isidore of Seville gives its Greek name *phlebotomum,* which expresses its more especial use in letting blood by making an incision in the vein. In earlier times surgery

(chirurgia) appears to have been always included under the head of medicine. It is hardly necessary to state that the name is derived from two Greek words, *cheir*, a hand, and *ergon*, a work, and that it means that part of medical practice which was executed with the hand, instead of being effected by the administration of medicines. Originally its province, almost exclusively, was the treatment of wounds. The first professional surgeon introduced into Rome is said to have been the Greek Archagathus who settled there in B.C. 219, and was received with so great honour, that a shop was given him at the public expense. He was at first called *Vulnerarius*, healer of wounds, but people were soon so astonished at the manner in which he cut up his patients, that they exchanged this title for that of *Carnifex*, which means simply an executioner. Although the title of *Medicus*, equivalent to our term "medical man," was given indiscriminately to the physician and surgeon, yet the two branches of the healing art in Rome and the Roman towns generally, appear to have been practically two separate professions, as they continued to be in the middle ages. During a long period, both professions were exercised almost solely by foreigners, and especially by slaves; but this can hardly be taken as a proof that they were in discredit, because, in consequence of the manner in which slaves were made and obtained in ancient Rome, some of the most skilful professors of most arts, and even of literature itself, were either slaves or freedmen. It only proves that skill in these arts was superior and more common among foreigners than among Romans. The most celebrated medical schools of antiquity were found in Greece and in the Grecian colonies. Gradually the physicians and surgeons in Rome were held in high honour and received great salaries, and a class arose, no doubt of more approved talent and skill than the others, on whom therefore a higher degree was conferred, and they were entitled *archiaters*, or chief physicians. These appear to have been

paid with the public funds, and to have been employed about the persons of the emperors and great officers of state, or to attend on the poor plebeians or such as were not in a position to pay them. The ordinary physicians or surgeons attended on all who called them in, and were paid in each case by their patients. Wealthy individuals sometimes retained a physician and surgeon in their household, to attend solely to themselves and their families; and it was still not uncommon for a patrician to have among his slaves individuals who were skilled in medicine and surgery. This may have arisen, perhaps, in some degree from the sentiment of fear; for it would naturally strike everybody that he who could cure, could kill also, and in the state of society then existing in Rome any one, who had the means, would be glad to have a medical or surgical attendant who was under the influence of no other but himself. Instances are not wanting in history, of men of consequence who were poisoned by their physicians. This feeling is curiously illustrated by a remarkable oath, preserved in Greek and ascribed to Hippocrates, which, in the earlier times, the medical students were obliged to take before they were allowed to practice. Its terms are as follows:—"I swear by Apollo the physician, by Æsculapius, by Hygeia, and Panaceia, and all the gods and goddesses, calling them to witness, that I will fulfil religiously, according to the best of my power and judgment, the solemn promise and the written bond which I now do make. I will honour, in the same degree as my parents, the master who has taught me this art, and endeavour to administer to all his necessities. I will consider his children as my own brothers, and will teach them my profession, should they express a wish to follow it, without remuneration or written bond. I will admit to my lessons, to my discourses, and to all my other methods of teaching, my own sons, and those of my tutor, and those who have been inscribed as pupils and have taken the medical oath; but no one

else. I will prescribe such a course of regimen as may be best suited to the condition of my patients, according to the best of my power and judgment, seeking to preserve them from any thing that might prove injurious. *No inducement shall ever lead me to administer poison,* nor will I ever be the author of such advice; *neither will I contribute to an abortion.* I will retain religiously the purity and integrity both of my conduct and of my art. I will not cut any one for the stone, but will leave that operation to those who cultivate it. Into whatever dwellings I may go, I will enter them with the sole view of succouring the sick, abstaining from all injurious views and corruption, especially from any immodest action, towards women or men, freemen or slaves. If, during my attendance, or even unprofessionally in common life, I happen to see or hear of any circumstances which should not be revealed, I will consider them as a profound secret, and observe on the subject a religious silence. May I, if I rigidly observe this oath, and do not break it, enjoy good success in life, and in the practice of my art, and obtain general esteem for ever; should I transgress and become a perjurer, may the reverse be my lot."

It will be seen by the foregoing oath, that, from a very early period, there were physicians and surgeons who confined themselves to special branches of the art, as here of the practice of cutting for the stone, and that it was a part of what we should call professional etiquette on the part of the general practitioner to abandon this branch of the healing art to them. Our city of Uriconium has furnished us with an interesting monument of another class of these special physicians, the Roman oculists. We should be led to suppose, from the exception made in the Hippocratic oath, that the stone was a very prevalent disease among the ancients; the class of monuments to which I am now alluding prove that, for some reasons with which we are unacquainted, the population of the western

provinces of the Roman empire (at least) were greatly subject to diseases of the eyes.

As long ago as the year 1808, a labourer ploughing in one of the fields at Wroxeter, turned up a small circular slab of stone, with an inscription in Roman characters on one face. An inaccurate engraving of it was given in the Gentleman's Magazine, and was copied by the Rev. Charles H. Hartshorne, in his *Salopia Antiqua,* published in 1841. Mr. Hartshorne called it "an amuletal seal," and stated that it had baffled the efforts of all who had attempted to explain it. This was the less excusable, as Richard Gough, the Antiquary, had years before, on the 4th of December, 1788, read a paper on this class of monuments before the Society of Antiquaries, which was printed in the ninth volume of the *Archæologia,* under the title of "Observations on Certain Stamps or Seals used anciently by the Oculists."* These stamps are generally in the form of small rectangular slabs, squares or parallelograms, made of a greenish schist or steatite; and the inscription is not on the face, but on the edge. They were no doubt intended to be used to stamp *collyria,* ointments or salves for the eyes, much on the same principle as modern patent medicines, either upon the ointment itself, in a hard state, or upon the packet which contained it. Diseases of the eyes were certainly not unfrequent in Rome, and the oculists formed a numerous class, and employed a great variety of remedies. Several sepulchral inscriptions have been found in Rome commemorating *medici occularii.* The reader of Horace will remember the words of the poet,—

> Hic oculis ego nigra meis *collyria* lippus
> Illinere. *Horat. Sat.* lib. i. 5, l. 15.

* Several dissertations on the subject of these stamps have appeared on the continent, among which I may more especially mention a tract by M. Sichel, entitled, "*Cinq cachets inédits des Medecins Oculistes Romains.* Paris, 1845, and another by M. Duchalais, *Observations sur les Cachets des Medecins Oculistes anciens, à-propos de cinq Pierres sigillaires inedites.*" Paris, 1846. A series of very learned and valuable papers on the subject of the monuments of this class found in Britain, written by Professor Dr. J. Y. Simpson, of Edinburgh, will be found in the "Monthly Journal of Medical Science," for 1851, vol. xii. pp. 39, 285, 338, under the title of "Notices of Ancient Roman Medicine Stamps, &c. found in Great Britain."

These *collyria*, as we gather from the old medical writers, were exceedingly numerous and varied, but it is not clear if the practice in Italy was conducted exactly in the same way as in the more distant provinces. It must have been very extensive in the west, for upwards of sixty Roman oculists' stamps have been found in Western Europe, of which more than a dozen have been brought to light in Britain. These have all been found in widely distant localities, and all present different names, which we cannot doubt were those of local practitioners. Sometimes there is only one title of a medicine on one edge; others have different titles of medicines on two, three, or four edges. One of the most perfect of the British examples was found in digging a cellar in the abbey yard at Bath in 1731. Each of the four edges, in this stamp, had an inscription, in two lines, and the name of the oculist was Titus Junianus. The first of these four inscriptions was,—

T · IVNIANI THALASER
AD CLARITATEM

which may be translated, "The thalasseros, (or marine collyrium), of Titus Junianus, for clearness (of vision.") The second inscription was,—

T · IVNIANI CRSOMAEL
INVM AD CLARITATEM

which may be translated, "The leaden melinum, or golden collyrium (*cerussomaelinum*) of Titus Junianus, for clearness of vision." Some of the letters of the third title were doubtful, and it can only be represented with any certainty as,—

T · IVNIANI D.....VM
AD VETERES CICATRICES

The name of this ointment should probably be read *diamysum*, a word which occurs again in a stamp found in Ireland, which I shall shortly describe, and also on one found at Nimeguen. It was a mineral composition, spoken of by the early medical writers as of virtue *ad aspritudines oculorum*. Pliny tells us

"that it diminishes the confirmed granulations of the eye-lids," and that it was "added to collyria" *(extenuat etiam scabritias oculorum inveteratas ...et collyriis additur.)** Hence we see that in this Bath stamp, as in several found on the continent, the dyamysum is destined for the cure of "old specks or opacities" *(veteres cicatrices.)*† The fourth of these titles is still more obscure, partly, perhaps, from being imperfectly read, and partly, to judge from other errors in the inscriptions, from the circumstance that the man who made them was rather illiterate. It must, therefore, be left as doubtful, but it is given as follows,—

T · IVNIANI HOFSVMADρV
EC VMODELICTA AMEDICIS

A stamp is preserved in the British Museum, which is understood to have been found on the site of Verulamium, (St. Alban's), which has three sides inscribed, and which bears the names of two different oculists.‡ The first name is Lucius Julius Juvenis; the second is without a name; and the third, in a ruder style of execution, is F. Secundus. In this instance the second oculist was probably a successor to the first.

The greater number of these stamps found in Britain belong to the western districts of the island. I have already mentioned the one found at Bath, belonging to an oculist named Titus Junianus. Another was found at Cirencester, (the Roman *Corinium)*, with two sides inscribed, which had belonged to an oculist named Minervalis. One of its titles was,—

MINERVALIS DIALEB
ANVM AD IMPETLIPP EX OVO

which may be read *Minervalis dialebanum ad impetum lippitudinis ex ovo*, "the dialebanum of Minervalis, against the attack of blear-eye, to be applied with white of egg." Another of these stamps was found at Kenchester, in Here-

* Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. xxxiv. c. 31.

† See the Archæological Journal, vol. ix. p. 187.

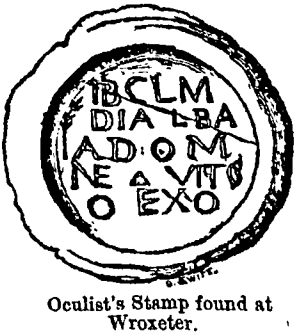
‡ White specks, or spots of opacity on the cornea, are very frequently produced by the cicatrices of ulcers there, especially when the preparations of lead have been used for their cure. If intended for any other part than the eyes, it would of course read "old scars or contractions."

fordshire, (the Roman *Magna,*) bearing four titles, with the name Titus Vindacius Ariovistus, which sounds like that of a man of German race. And we have the one found at Wroxeter, bearing the very pure Roman name of Tiberius Claudius. Other examples of these stamps have been found at Colchester, with the name of Quintus Julius Murranus; near Littleborough in Nottinghamshire (the Roman *Agelocum*), but the name of the oculist it commemorated is not stated; two in the British Museum, one bearing the name of Sextus Julius Sedatus, the other a fragment from which the name has been lost, and the place of discovery of neither of which is known; one described by Douce in the Gentleman's Magazine for 1778, bearing four titles, with the name Marcus Julius Satyrus, but of this also we are not informed where it was found; and one found in Scotland, at Tranent, not far from the site of a Roman town at Inveresk, with two titles of collyria, and the name of Lucius Vallatinus. Lastly, one of these Roman oculists' stamps was found in 1842 in Ireland, in the county of Tipperary, in digging a dike on the rising ground above the green of the village of Golden Bridge, along with human bones, so that it may be supposed to have been buried with the oculist to whom it belonged. It bore the inscription,—

MIVVENT TVTIANI
DIAMYSVSADVETCIC

which may be read, *Marci Juventii Tutiani diamysus ad veteres cicatrices*, "the diamysus of Marcus Juventius Tutainus for old opacities." It is a similar collyrium, as will be seen at once, to that on the stamp found at Bath.

The oculist's stamp found at Wroxeter differs from the others in form, and in the manner in which the inscription is placed on it, as will be seen by the accompanying engraving.



Oculist's Stamp found at Wroxeter.

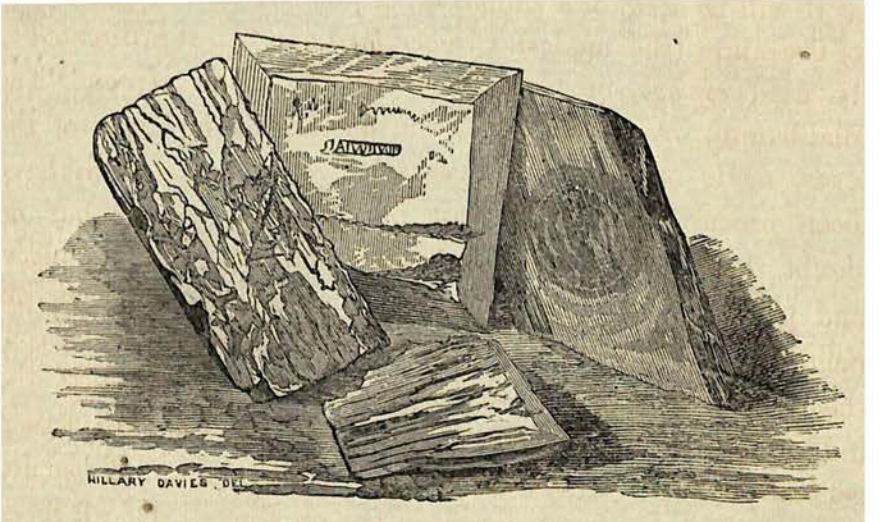
It is a neatly formed round slab of whitish stone, and appears, therefore, to have been intended for impressing the names of the medicine and its maker on a pot, box, or parcel, of a circular form. The inscription, in five lines, may be read without difficulty,—

TIBCLM
DIALIBA
AD · OM
NE Δ VIT
O EXO.

The small character Δ is often used in Roman inscriptions in the place of a stop or division. The whole may be extended, "*Tiberii Claudii medici dialibanum ad omne vitium oculorum, ex ovo,*" and may be translated, "The dialibanum of Tiberius Claudius, the physician, for all complaints of the eyes, to be used with egg." Thus we learn that one physician of the Roman town of Uriconium bore the very classical name of Tiberius Claudius. The ointment indicated by this stamp was, as it will be seen, of a similar description to that of Minervalis of Corinium (the modern Cirencester,) and like it is directed to be used *ex ovo,* or beaten up with the white of egg. The dialibanum was a well-known ointment for complaints of the eyes, made originally of a vegetable substance, said to have been procured in its greatest purity from Arabia; but no doubt these local doctors used other substances in its place, and probably each laid claim to greater perfection than his neighbours. Moreover, the presence of the term medicus in the Wroxeter stamp leaves hardly room to doubt that the individual to whom it had belonged, Tiberius Claudius, was a general physician of Uriconium; and perhaps this was usually the case with the practitioners in the provinces. Of all these stamps yet found, no two bear the same name, from which circumstance we are justified in concluding that each belonged to an individual permanently established in one of the more

important towns, who sent his medicines, properly stamped and identified, probably to a considerable distance around.

We have thus discovered interesting memorials of the existence in Uriconium of the healing science in its two branches of medicine and surgery, and have brought to light the name of a physician who no doubt flourished in the Roman city. Accident has also brought to light on its site the evidence of the existence of the fine arts, and most probably the name of a Uriconian painter. Among the buildings in the immediate neighbourhood of the enameller's shop, between it and the baths, were found, at different times during our excavations, and not far from one spot, three small rectangular slabs, and part of another, of a whitish stone, apparently steatite or soapstone, which had been carefully smoothed, the one side presenting a perfectly level surface, but the other bevelled off at the edges. They are all nearly of the same size, about two inches and a half broad by two inches and three-quarters long, and they present the unmistakable characteristics of painters'



Painters' Palettes, from Uriconium.

palettes. They are represented in our cut, where it will be observed that the one to the right is much worn in the

the middle of the upper or unbevelled side by the action of the painter rubbing his colours, and traces of colours themselves may still be perceived. This palette had been broken, and the section, as here shown by the fracture, will give a better notion of the form of the palette, and of the character of the wearing, than any description. We have reason to believe, from the locality in which these objects were found, that there was a painter's shop, or studio, in the neighbourhood of the baths, so that the fine arts, perhaps, flourished in Uriconium. But one of these palettes furnishes us with another fact of some interest connected with this part of our subject. On the back of this palette, which is turned towards us in the engraving, and which has been less used than the one just described, we find, among several scratches made intentionally with a sharp instrument, a man's name, rudely but minutely and clearly written in a small label, evidently an imitation of the forms in which the potters' names are stamped on the red Samian ware. No similar inscription is found on the other palettes, and, from the manner in which it has been executed, we are fairly justified in supposing that it is the name, not of the maker of the palettes, but of the possessor of this particular example, and perhaps of the others also. From the careless manner in which this inscription is written, it is not very easy to decipher, but it appears to be DICINIVMA, which may be read as Dicinivi m*anu*, i.e., "by the hand of Dicinivus." This was, in all probability, the name of a professional artist of Uriconium, who lived perhaps at the time the town was destroyed, and which, certainly not Roman, would apparently show him to be either a Gaul or a German. All this is extremely important in its relation to the history of art, one of the most valuable measures of the extent of social refinement at this interesting period. Our knowledge of the forms of the practice of art among the Romans is in many respects defective, although they appear in general to have

resembled very closely those in use at the present day. We hardly know the technical name of the palette itself; Julius Pollux gives it in Greek the name of *pinakion*, and Pliny uses the Latin word *tabellæ*, which are words identical in signification, meaning a small tablet, and implying its rectangular form. Another Latin name for it appears to have been *assula*, which means simply a thin slice or strip of stone, or of other material. Wall pictures have been met with in Pompeii, in which the painter is represented at his work. In one of these, which is a burlesque or caricature, the painter seated before an easel, resembling closely the modern implement of that name, has a tablet of stone, supported upon four legs, forming a large description of palette, on which he can spread a number of colours at the same time; but in another fresco-painting, which represents a female artist making a picture of a statue of the bearded Bacchus, the lady holds in her left hand a real palette, only differing from those found at Wroxeter in being oval instead of rectangular.

From considering the evidence, imperfect as it is and derived chiefly from only one spot of our excavations into the ancient city, of the existence of trade, manufacture, art, and science, in a very advanced degree of progress, let us return to the locality which we have been describing. We have traced a tolerably long line of frontage, facing nearly west, and consisting of, first, the entrance front to the Basilica; then, one or two shops of importance; next, the face of a market square; and, beyond this to the south, walls indicating buildings of no great extent, but whether they had any connection with the market is a question of great uncertainty. On the south, this line of frontage is bounded by a street running east and west, but we have crossed this street, and found on the other side a line of buildings which appear to have been ordinary houses. This line advances westward, considerably beyond the line of the market and Basilica, and then stops and turns at right angles

to the south. From this it is evident that the line of frontage of which the basilica formed a part looked upon a wide open space, and that, from the southern end where the street just mentioned crossed it, the way to the south was continued by a street of only ordinary dimensions. When we consider the relative position of this wide space in regard to the whole area of the ancient city, and when we reflect that, as far as we are acquainted with the plans of the Roman towns, the Basilica was always entered from the Forum, we can hardly doubt for a moment that we are here upon the site of the Forum of the Roman city of Uriconium. In regard to it, the Basilica holds exactly the same position as in Pompeii. Moreover, Vitruvius states as an established rule that the Basilica in a Roman town stood adjoining to the Forum. But, if any doubt had remained, it would have been entirely taken away by discoveries which had been accidentally made two or three years before the commencement of our excavations.

In 1855, the then tenant of the land, the late Mr. Stanier, built the farm buildings which now stand on the opposite side of the road from the field in which the excavations have been carried on, but a little more to the northward. In clearing away the ground for the foundations, the workmen made some interesting discoveries, a plan and section of which, made at the time by Sir Henry Dryden, Bart., has been preserved by my friend Mr. Samuel Wood, by whose kindness, and with Sir Henry's permission, I am enabled to give an engraving of it on a reduced scale. In what is now the farm-yard, a row of short square pillars, marked A. A. A. A. on the plan, running parallel with the line of buildings described above, and standing at equal distances of about twelve feet apart, were found. A drawing of one of these pillars is given on a larger scale at the foot of the plate. It consists of a basement stone about three feet square, upon which rested the base of the pillar, the latter ornamented with mouldings, above which was

a short square shaft, and at the top a small square cap-stone, of which the engraving gives the elevation. These cap-stones were roughly dressed, and not uniform in the colour of the stone, as two of them were red, one light red, and the other drab. The most curious feature of these pillars, which were taken up and are still preserved in the garden of what was Mr. Stanier's house, is a vertical groove on the opposite sides of the base, a sectional plan of which is represented in the figure B. These grooves were on the sides of the pillars which faced each other when *in situ*, and had evidently been intended to receive some connecting work of metal or wood, probably the latter, which extended from pillar to pillar, and thus formed a continuous barrier. When we consider the position of these pillars in regard to the buildings which we have discovered in the field on the eastern side of the road, and which I have given as nearly as I can ascertain it in the map of the ancient city, we cannot look upon it as otherwise than an entire confirmation of the supposition stated above, that we are here upon the site of the Forum of Uriconium. A corresponding row of pillars may, perhaps, lie under the eastern side of the present Watling-Street road, and thus formed the enclosure devoted to public meetings and public business. If the ground further to the north, or to the south, were explored, we should probably meet with remains of buildings which would present a still closer resemblance to the Forum of Pompeii. Another pillar was found at D in the plan, quite out of the line of the four others, but it may probably have been displaced, or it marks some distribution of the Forum which, with our present imperfect knowledge, we cannot attempt to explain.

No attempt, I believe, was made to carry out these excavations, except so far as they were necessary for the construction of the modern buildings. In laying the modern drain, which is indicated by the dotted line, and which led to the discovery of thepillar at D, a floor of concrete was found five feet below the

surface of the ground at F, and a number of large stones were scattered about, with iron straps, bones, lead, cramps, and other objects, among which one silver coin was picked up. A large squared stone was found at C, and a flagstone at G. At H, a floor of flagstones was met with at a depth of six feet. In digging for the foundations at I, a gold coin was found, which is said to have been carried away and sold privately by the workman who picked it up.

The fields to the westward of the site of these discoveries present appearances, in the surface of the ground, which leave no room for doubt that they contain in their whole extent, under the surface, masses of buildings, among which we may hope to find some of the temples of the ancient city, which seem usually, as in Pompeii, to have occupied this position in regard to the Forum. The fields to the north-east and east are also full of the remains of buildings, probably belonging to the more important private mansions of the town, as tessellated pavements are said to have been frequently met with by the farm labourers. It is to be hoped that the time is not far distant when all these will be carefully explored.

CHAPTER V.

THE HOUSES, AND GENERAL DISTRIBUTION OF THE TOWN.

THE excavations at Wroxeter have not yet been carried out to a sufficient extent to enable us to form any satisfactory notion of the general distribution of the town of Uriconium, but it was probably quite equal in character, if not superior, to Roman towns in general, either in Britain or in the provinces of the continent. As far as we can judge, the streets were more open and roomy than those of Pompeii, where they appear to have been very narrow and gloomy. We are in the habit of always associating these ancient towns with narrow and inconvenient streets, and in fact, in Italy itself, there seems to have been a prejudice in favour of them; for we learn, from the historian Tacitus that, when, in the reign of Nero, Rome was burnt and rebuilt with more spacious streets, people complained of the change as injurious to the sanitary condition of the town, because, they said, in the old state of things, the sun's rays did not penetrate into the streets, and people were protected from their heat, whereas in the new changes people who passed in the streets would be exposed to the sun's rays without protection.* Perhaps this inconvenience was less felt in Britain than in Italy; but it is certain that, as far as we have yet traced them, the streets of Uriconium were wide and straight, and crossed each other at right angles.

* Taciti Annal., lib. xv. c. 43.—Erant tamen qui crederent, "Veterem illam formam salubritati magis conduxisse, quoniam angustiæ itinerum et altitudo tectorum non perinde solis vapore perrumperentur; at nunc patibulam latitudinem, et nulla umbra defensam, graviore æstu ardescere."

This at least was the case in the streets we have yet met with. The wall which formed the northern side of the Basilica, ran at right angles from the face of the buildings fronting the Forum, and was traced in a direct line without any variation up to the edge of the field, where we were stopped. There could be no doubt, from various appearances which were noticed, that this wall formed the southern side of a street, and that it was a wide street, paved in the middle in the same manner as that subsequently found to the south, but we had not the opportunity of examining it very closely. The part of it immediately adjoining the wall appeared to have been formed of concrete. The baths, again, were bounded to the south, by a line of buildings which ran at right angles to the Forum, and parallel to the street on the north, and it has been traced as far as the land allotted for excavation will permit. Here the roadway of the street has been uncovered, and the foundations traced of the houses on the opposite side, so that we are well acquainted with its character and dimensions. The paved part of this street, marked L. L. L. in the plan of the buildings excavated, which was bounded by kirb-stones, and did not reach quite to the walls of the houses, was somewhat more than twenty feet. This is about the width of the widest street in Pompeii, that which, for the sake of distinction has been named the street of the Mercuries, and which is supposed to have been the grand street of the city, or *via sacra*, by which all public processions approached the Forum, and in which the triumphal arches stood. The other streets of Pompeii were very narrow; often hardly wide enough for a beast of burthen. Even in Roman London, as far as we can judge by the examples which have been met with in the course of excavations, most of the streets were very narrow. Such was the case also in a comparatively small Roman town on the site of Maryport in Cumberland, which was excavated in 1766. In the small towns along the line of Hadrian's Wall, the streets are mere narrow passages.

At Chesters in Northumberland, the *Cilurnum* of the Romans, they were mere passages from three to four feet wide. At *Bremenium* (High Rochester), a small and thickly built Roman town on the northern Watling-Street a little to the north of Hadrian's Wall, which has been recently laid open to a great extent by the Duke of Northumberland, the main streets varied in width from ten to fourteen feet, and the bye-streets were usually less than three feet wide. Those of earlier formation were here flagged with broad flat stones, while the pavements made at a later period were formed of small stones. At *Cilurnum* and at Maryport the streets were paved with flags, which shows that they were only used by men on foot, whereas the remains of a chariot have been found at Wroxeter in the middle of the ancient town. At Wroxeter the pavement of the Roman street is formed of small stones, such as might be gathered from gravel, well put together, and hard beaten in, and presenting an appearance not much unlike that we call macadamizing. A row of kirb-stones was placed on each side. At Leicester, where some of the pavement of the Roman streets in the town of *Ratæ* were uncovered, it was found to be laid with small round cobble-stones, much in the same way as they are set in the streets of Leicester and Shrewsbury in modern times. At the western end of the street of Uriconium just described, another street leaves it towards the south, also at right angles, and probably broad, because, from its position, it was evidently one of the principal streets of the town, but it lies under the modern road, and we have not been able to make any complete examination of it. It presents the peculiarity of a side gutter, on one side at least, which I believe is unknown in Pompeii, or in any other Roman town with the remains of which we are acquainted. It is marked *i. i.* in the plan of the buildings excavated, and begins just below where the line of houses of the southern side of the street L. L. L. abuts upon the Forum.

This gutter is well made, of carefully squared stones, and in a remarkably good state of preservation, and runs close to the houses at the side of the street. It is about a foot wide, and a foot deep, and from place to place there are laid in it square stones which, placed lozenge-wise, reach exactly across, and must have stopped a current of water. Their only apparent purpose can have been to serve as stepping-stones, yet, in so narrow a channel, they can hardly have been necessary. This gutter has been traced further on southwardly in its way.

Of course it would not be quite fair to form a judgment of the character of the whole town from the small portion of it we have as yet explored, and we must bear in mind that this was the most important part of it, and that, in other parts of the extensive area which it covered, there may have been lower quarters covered with smaller and less regular streets. We can hardly be said to have touched the domestic buildings of the city of Uriconium. The ground bordering on the street L. L. L. upon the south, was found to be full of remains of walls running parallel or at right angles to it, which appeared to have formed rooms mostly of rather small dimensions, but they had been so much broken up in modern times in the search for building materials, that no satisfactory plan could be made out. Near the western end, the walls of two different buildings were separated, as seen in the plan, by a passage so narrow, that even a man could only pass along it with difficulty, and it would be in vain even to guess what could have been its object. But it is probable that these buildings were all shops or dwelling-houses.

The masonry of the buildings of Uriconium, like all Roman masonry, is excellent, and, in spite of its great age, they might have been still perfect but for the effects of violence from without. Whatever material the Romans used in their walls was good. They never chose bad material for their facing stones, whether large or small, and they appear to have known well

how to select it, as we have a remarkable instance in the walls of Chester (the Roman *Deva*), mentioned before.* No less so were their tiles or bricks, to which they gave, according to their different purposes, the names of *lateres* or *tegulæ*. The Roman tegulæ were, as is generally known, formed like our tiles, and not like our bricks. They are flat, generally about an inch in thickness, and the smaller and more common examples are about seven inches square. Some of the building tiles are much larger, and in the form of an oblong parallelogram instead of square, as much sometimes as two inches thick. The latter seem to answer to those called by Vitruvius the Lydian tile, *later Lydium*, which he says was a foot broad and a foot and a half long. We learn from Vitruvius how much care was given to the choice of the clay of which these tiles were made, and to the process of making them. It appears that they were not baked by fire, but dried in the sun; and he lays it down as a rule that tiles should always be made in spring, that they might have the time between that and autumn through which to dry gradually and equally through the increase in temperature;† and as another, that the best and most useful tiles are those which have been more than two years drying.‡

But of all their building materials, that on which the Romans set greatest importance was the mortar, and the old writers give us many directions about making it, especially about the selection of the different sorts of lime to be used, and of the different sorts of sand, &c., to be mixed with it. We all know the immense hardness of the mortar in Roman buildings as it now exists; it is literally more difficult to break, or to act

* See page 69 of the present volume.

† Ducendi autem sunt per vernum tempus et autumnale, ut uno tenore siccescant. *Vitruv. de Architectura*, lib. i. c. 3.—Ducendi autem sunt lateres verno tempore, ut ex lento siccescant; qui enim solsticiali tempore parantur, vitiosi fiunt, &c. *Architecturæ Compendium*, c. x. The abridgement of Vitruvius and other ancient writers for practical use, published with the editions of his book.

‡ Maxime autem utiliores erunt, si ante biennium fuerunt ducti; namque non ante possunt penitus siccescere. *Vitruvius de Arch.*, *ib.* See also *Pliny Hist. Nat.* lib. xxxv., c. 49.

upon, than the stone itself. Between the facing stones of the masonry of the entrance gateway at Pevensey in Sussex, (the Roman *Anderida*), the marks of the trowel used in pointing it are as sharp and distinct as on the day it was built, and they cannot be defaced. The old writers tell us of many ingredients used in the mortar or cement for different purposes, but the most usual material used for this purpose was pounded brick, or tile, which had the effect of making the mortar set quick and hard. Hence, it is a general characteristic of Roman mortar in England to find it full of small red grains of brick; and this is found everywhere in the mortar of the buildings uncovered at Wroxeter. The primary cause of the hardness which the Roman mortar has assumed is, however, understood to be the fact that the lime was not slaked until the moment of using, and that it was poured into the work hot, as is still the practice with railway engineers. There is every reason for believing, from the extreme hardness of the mortar in our old castles and early churches, that this manner of preparing it was continued during the middle ages, combined also sometimes with the use of the pounded tile. Pounded tile has been found in the mortar of some mediæval buildings, so that its presence cannot be taken absolutely as a test of Roman building, though it is very rarely found elsewhere. On the other hand, the pounded bricks are not necessarily found in Roman mortar. Dr. Bruce, in his great work on the Roman Wall, informs us that it is never found in the Roman buildings in the north of England; and it is wanting in some of the mortar of the commoner buildings in our Roman towns and stations in the western districts. However, as a general rule, we usually find Roman mortar, except in the north of England, marked by the presence of an ingredient of pounded brick.

The Romans appear not to have thought it necessary to dig any foundations for the massive defensive walls with which

they surrounded their towns and citadels, which are those we have had most opportunity of examining. Those at Richborough in Kent *(Rutupiæ)*, were merely laid upon, or very little below, the smoothed surface of the natural soil, which is here a compact pit-sand. At Burgh Castle in Suffolk *(Gariannonum)*, it was found that frames, or floors, of wood had been laid upon the ground, and a bed of mortar spread upon them, upon which the first stones of the wall were laid; and, a part of the wall having been accidentally overthrown, the impression of the timber, which had itself long perished, has been found remaining on the mortar. Dr. Bruce informs us that, on removing a long strip of Hadrian's Wall at Walbottle Dean in 1864, the remains of vegetation were found immediately beneath it; and, below what had evidently been the surface of the ground at the time the wall was built, the soil was blackened for some inches by the roots of the herbage which had been growing there; so that the foundation of the wall had been laid on the mere surface of the ground while the grass was growing upon it. In some parts of Cumberland, he adds, where the soil is of a sandy nature, an excavation of from fifteen to eighteen inches appears to have been made. In other places, where the ground was boggy, the foundation was found to have been laid upon what the antiquary Stukeley calls a strong frame of oak timber. However, the walls of ordinary buildings were certainly built with good deep foundations. Those of the Old Wall at Wroxeter, the separation between the Basilica and the Baths, were traced to a depth of not less than seven feet below the original elevation of the ground, and those of other parts of these buildings which we tried were equally deeply laid.

The Romans had a peculiar manner of constructing their walls, as far as we can judge by examining them. They began by laying two parallel lines of stones, usually larger than the facing stones above, and somewhat wider apart than the wall was

intended to be higher up. Upon these first stones were placed the first row of facing stones, which were continued to a small height, and then they placed boulder stones and other material in the space between the two faces, and poured into it the hot liquid mortar, which set quite hard in a very short time, and the same process was repeated. The wall was thus raised up gradually, in small heights at a time, while it appears to have been supported by a frame, or casing, of wood, supported by cross beams of timber, which left holes at certain distances in the wall, still open. Perhaps these were filled with facing stones without the mortar, which have since dropped out. After a certain number of courses of facing stones, which appears to have been regulated by the custom or choice of the builder, a sort of bonding-course of the flat tiles was introduced, consisting usually of two rows of tiles, but sometimes of only one single row, and at others, though more rarely, of three. The number at Wroxeter is generally two. These courses of tiles, though they generally run into the wall only one tile deep, and do not pass through it, materially helped to prevent the facing from separating from the core of the work, particularly while the latter was green and liable to settlement. These courses of bricks are seen to great advantage on the face of the Old Wall.

These tiles are sometimes used in the Roman masonry for other purposes. At times a short course, a couple or two tiles only in length, were drawn from the angle of a wall, producing somewhat the effects of what is called in our early Saxon architecture "long and short work." But they were still more frequently used for turning the heads of arches, of which an excellent example was displayed in the entrance to the hypocausts of the baths, before it fell into dilapidation. This use of the tiles appears to have been long continued in the middle ages. A part of the masonry of the early church in Dover Castle, which appears to be undoubtedly work of the Anglo-

Saxon period, presents a similar arrangement of tiles; and they are found in string-courses and in arches in the early Norman work of the castle and of the priory of St. Botolph at Colchester. The Anglo-Saxon builders certainly adopted the Roman manufacture of tiles, for they took the name also. It was from the Latin *tegula*, which was applied originally to the roof tile, but which appears in the late Roman period to have usurped the place both of *tegula* and of *later* (the building-tile), that our Saxon forefathers made their word *tigel* or *tigol*, which they used not only for tiles both for roofing and building, but even for pottery, or fictile ware, and from which we derive our modern English word *tile*, while the French turned it into *tuile*. The name, and probably the form, of the *brique*, or *brick*, came to us from the Normans.

With regard to the quality of the Roman tiles found at Wroxeter, it must be acknowledged that they differ very considerably in quality, or at least they have been very differently affected by circumstances. The bricks in the wall above ground, the Old Wall, have experienced no decay, and those which were uncovered were found generally in a very perfect condition, but they suffered in very various degrees from exposure to the air. In the hypocaust of the first room of the baths opened, (7 in the plan), the tiles of the piers which supported the floor appeared to experience very little damage from exposure to the air, and, but for external violence, would have been in perfect condition at the present time. Those in the next room (8,) absolutely fell into heaps of powder, not long after they were uncovered. The fine-looking tiles with which the arch was formed (9,) leading into the hypocausts, and which is represented in our cut on p. 117, remained perfect for some months, and then fell into absolute decay. This can hardly have been the mere effect of the weather, for, while the tiles in room 8 have not perished in any considerable degree, those in room 7 were destroyed in the first winter to

which they were exposed, and those in the arch 9 only perished after more than one winter's exposure. Vitruvius tells us that the badness of the tiles, whether from the inferiority of the materials or in consequence of the insufficiency in drying, was proved by the effect of frost upon them ;* and no doubt, after so many ages, when at last exposed, the different degrees of the frost have proved the original differences of quality of the bricks made and used at Uriconium.

The word *paries*, the name which the Romans applied to the wall of a house, does not necessarily imply that it was built of stone or brick. Vitruvius speaks of the *parietes cratitii*, or walls formed of wattles or hurdles, covered in early times with clay, but at a later period with mortar; and Pliny speaks of them as having been in use in the ancient buildings in Rome. Vitruvius states as one of the objections to these walls that they were exposed to injury from fire.† We can hardly expect to find remaining any examples, or very distinguishable remains, of walls of lath and mortar of the Roman period. The fire, which Vitruvius feared, has passed over them all, and has left nothing, as far as our discoveries have yet gone, to assure us whether the stucco and wall plaster we find so abundantly scattered over the floors of the Roman ruins came from walls of stone or from walls of wood. It is rather a curious fact that, in the remains of Roman buildings in this island, we most frequently find the walls remaining to a certain elevation, which differs in different localities, but presenting, in each locality, a nearly uniform elevation throughout, and at that elevation an unbroken, or only slightly broken, line; and it has been supposed, from this circumstance, that this was the original height of the stone wall, and that the upper part was built with lath and

* Nam quæ (testa) non fuerit ex creta bona, aut parum erit cocta, ibi sc cntendet esse vitiosam gelicidiis et pruina tacta.—*Vitruvius de Architectura, lib.* ii. *c.* 8.

† Cratitii vero velim quidem ne inventi essent. Quantum enim celeritate et loci laxamento prosunt, tanto majori et communi sunt calamitati, quod ad incendia (uti faces) sunt parati.—*Vitruvius de Architectura, lib.* ii. *c.* 8.

plaster. The fact alluded to, however, is capable of another explanation; for, as the destruction of the walls generally took place at a period when they were partly buried by the accumulation of soil, and when they were broken up for building materials, the depredators naturally enough stopped at one course of stones, perhaps the first or second under the surface of the ground, which would account perfectly for the level line of the tops of the walls as they are now found. It must be remarked that the same appearance is presented by the remains of the walls we have uncovered at Wroxeter, and these must have been altogether walls of solid masonry, because they belonged to public buildings, and some of them supported vaulted roofs. When the parts of the Roman town which consisted of private houses shall be opened, the appearance of the walls will be a subject of careful observation, with regard to this question. In the middle ages, no doubt, a great proportion of the houses in a town were built in the manner alluded to, the walls, up to a certain height, of stone, and above that of wood and plaster. The rule, in regard to the thickness of the *paries*, or wall of the house, in Italy, appears to have been that it should be *sesquipedalis*, or a foot and a half thick. Perhaps in this more northernly climate, it was thought necessary for warmth, or for other reasons, that this measure should be doubled, for the general thickness of the walls of the buildings of Uriconium is three feet, and I believe the same thickness of walls is found in the remains of Roman buildings in other parts of the island. It is rather curious that this same solidity of wall was the one prescribed by municipal law in the towns of western Europe during the middle ages, probably derived from the practice of the old Roman builders. The wall which was then of importance to come under a public regulation of this kind was the partition wall of the house, and with this we must also no doubt reckon all the exterior walls of a house, facing the street or not. There were various

reasons for requiring that its thickness should not be less than the established rule. In the curious Assize of Buildings in London, enacted under the mayoralty of Henry fitz Alwyn, in 1189, it is ordered that the party-wall should be of stone, three feet thick and sixteen feet high; and that if arches (for cupboards or closets) were made in the wall on either side, these should be never more than one foot deep, so that, if two such arches were opposite each other, the wall should still remain between them a full foot in thickness.*

One of the most remarkable peculiarities of the Roman house in these northern provinces was the method by which the rooms were warmed, which consisted simply in the use of hot air. The floor of the room was not laid upon the solid ground, but was raised on a great number of square piers, formed of square tiles laid upon each other to the requisite height. This system was called *hypocaustum*—a hypocaust; and the technical name for the combination of piers, or *pilæ*, appears to have been *suspensuræ*. Fires were made underneath these floors, and the warmth not only passed up between them, but it was carried up the walls by hollow tubes of tile, or earthenware. Vitruvius gives minute details for building the hypocaust. He directs that the ground was first to be laid with foot and a half tile, on which the piers were to be raised with eight inch tiles to a height of two feet, that on these a layer of clay mixed with hair was to be spread, and tiles of two feet were to be laid over this, which were to support the pavement.† The excavations at Wroxeter have brought to light some very fine and perfect examples of Roman hypocausts, the proportions of

* Et sic communi custu construent murum lapideum inter se spissitudinis trium pedum et altitudinis sexdecim pedum..... Et si ambo voluerint in muro arcus habere, fiant arcus ex utraque parte profunditatis tantummodo unius pedis, ita quod spissitudo muri inter arcus sit continens unum pedem.—*Munimenta Gildhallæ Londoniensis*, edited by Henry Thomas Riley, vol i. pp. 321, 322.

† *Vitruvii de Architectura* lib. v. c. 10.—It may be remarked that in Roman buildings in Britain instances have been met with of the use of pillars of squared stone instead of the usual piers formed of bricks, usually only one or two stone pillars mixed with the brick piers, in some cases taken apparently from some older building which had been demolished. In the hypocaust of a house found at Chester (*Deva*), the floor was supported on regular rows of pillars formed of the sandstone of that district, two feet ten inches high. The usual large tiles were laid upon these pillars.

which are here generally rather larger than the dimensions set down by Vitruvius. In the large room marked 7 in our plan, in which, when first opened, no less than a hundred and twenty of these columns remained standing, they were a little more than three feet in height. At the north-eastern corner, they supported a small portion of the floor in its original position, which was a mass of cement, eight inches thick, and perfectly smooth on its upper surface. The other hypocausts were generally in a less perfect condition, but the piers seemed mostly to have been about three feet high. In several places the remains of the fires by which they had been heated were found, some of which had been alimented with mineral coal. Across the middle of the large hypocaust (7) a sort of passage ran from east to west, which had been crossed into from the archway already described, and was no doubt intended for the use of the men who had the care of the fires. At its western extremity it communicated with a mass of walls which presented the appearance of having been receptacles for fuel, and pieces of both mineral and vegetable coal were found scattered among them. In the room marked 13 on our plan, which is supposed to have been the sudatorium of the Baths, the hollow tiles which carried the hot air up the inside of the walls so as to disperse the warmth over the room, may be seen still partly attached to the cement of the masonry.

The directions given by Vitruvius refer only to the hypocausts attached to the baths for the purpose of heating them, for I believe that there is no single instance known in southern Italy of a hypocaust attached to a private house for the purpose of warming the apartments. There is no such thing in Pompeii. The climate, in fact, rendered such contrivances unnecessary; but when the Romans came into our colder climes, they soon found that they wanted their rooms warming as well as their baths, and they adopted precisely the same method of effecting their purpose; and in Gaul, or in Germany,

or still more in distant Britain, we find no Roman residence, whether town house or country villa, which has not a certain number of rooms furnished with hypocausts to warm them. The people who garrisoned and inhabited the little towns and stations along the line of the Wall of Hadrian would indeed have had a dreary life of it without their closely built houses and their well fed hypocausts.

It might be considered as a matter of surprise that in the middle ages the Roman method of warming houses by hypocausts should have been so entirely abandoned, especially in towns. It was perhaps found to be too elaborate for a ruder state of society. Our earlier mediaeval forefathers, we know, merely lighted up their fire in the middle of the floor of their hall, in the way that boys make bonfires, or in the place where they cooked their meat; and they gave the same name, *heorth*, or *hearth*, to the fire and to the place on which it was made. The other word, *fyr*, a fire, was employed just in the same manner; and the Anglo-Saxon looked with an affection on everything connected with his *hearth* that shows how well he appreciated its comforts. He spoke of his family as his *heorth-werod*, or his hearth-troop; his domestic servant was his *heorth-cniht*, or his hearth-boy; and even his bridesmaid was distinguished by the at least homely epithet of his *heorth-swœpe*, his hearth sweeper. The Anglo-Saxons had also a *fyr-cruse*, or fire-pot or cruse, and a *fyr-panne*, or fire-pan, in which perhaps the lady of the house sometimes had a sufficient quantity of lighted fuel to warm her and her maidens in her *bur*, or chamber, in rude imitation of the Roman braziers, of which examples have been found at Pompeii. Nobody has been able to trace any existence among the Romans of the open fire-place in the wall, such as we have them: it was a thing of much later introduction, and seems to have arisen in the feudal castles. Feudalism everywhere almost adopted the languages derived from that of the Romans, and

they took the Latin word *caminus*, and made out of it our word *chimney*.

I have been describing the rough construction of the hypocaust, but, as part of the house, it had to receive a considerable amount of ornamentation and finish. The flue-tiles were run up the walls in parallel rows, and fixed to the interior surface of the wall by the mortar, and sometimes also by T-shaped clamps of iron, and all this was afterwards covered with a smooth surface of mortar. The flue-tiles probably ran up to the top of the wall, and passed through the eaves. Every room which had a hypocaust had not these flue-tiles, which were used where greater heat was wanting than that given merely by the floor. When there were no flue-tiles, the smooth surface of cement was of course laid immediately on the masonry of the wall, and its face was adorned with painting in fresco. As far as we have yet explored the ruins, we have not found any pieces of fresco painting which would be very striking as works of art. As stated before,* one fragment was picked up which had formed part of an inscription in large letters. When the floor of the room was finished (it also was formed of cement), one of those beautiful tessellated pavements for which the Romans were so celebrated was laid down upon it. From the discoveries made at Wroxeter, we can hardly doubt that the Romans covered the outside of their walls with stucco and painting as well as painting them within. The semi-circular northern end of the great hypocaust of the Baths had been externally painted red, with stripes of yellow. The walls which formed the eastern side of the great internal court of the baths was coated with cement externally, and I believe presented similar indications of painting, but it perished on exposure to the atmosphere. Altogether, I think we are justified in assuming that the buildings of Uriconium were painted outside.

It seems to have been rarely the case with a private Roman house of any respectability not to possess a tessellated pave-

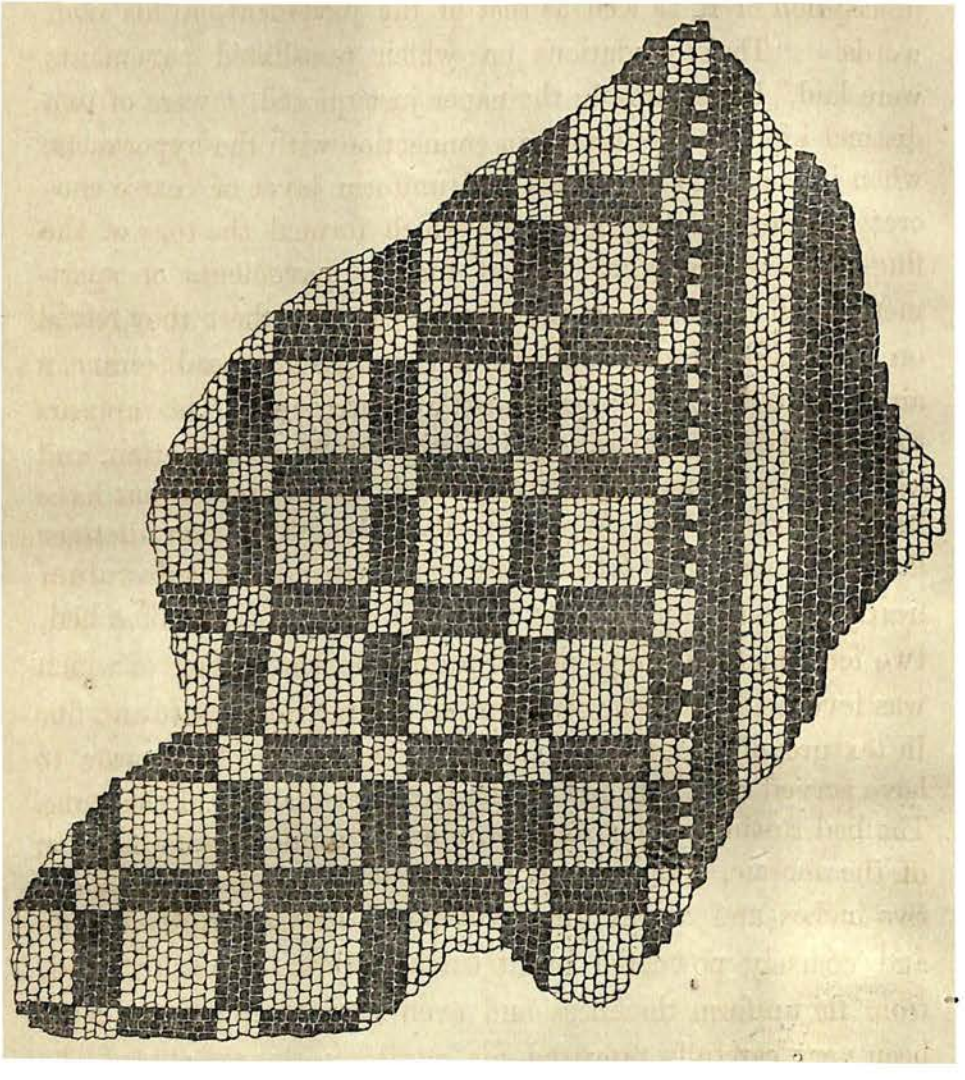
* See before, p. 113.

ment. Several have in times back been discovered in different parts of the site of Uriconium which no doubt belonged to private houses, and others have been traced at different periods by the farmers, but have not been uncovered. In the year 1827, a rather handsome example of a tessellated pavement was found in what was then a stack-yard, at E in our map, but it was torn to pieces by people who came to see it from Shrewsbury, and who carried away the tessellæ before any drawing could be made of it. It probably had belonged to the room of a house which abutted on the line of street which ran from the Forum to the town gate at H. Whatever hope, however, we may have of finding tessellated pavements when we explore some of the houses in the town, we have been somewhat disappointed in this respect, in the public buildings. Only one single tessellated floor has been discovered in the whole extent of the baths, where they appear to have consisted *generally* of a smoothed surface of cement. But this was not the case with the Basilica, which, as I have before stated, was divided, in its breadth from north to south, into three divisions, the one in the middle being thirty feet wide, while the two to the north and south of this formed long slips of somewhat less than half this breadth. In the northernmost of these slips, which ran along the side of a wide public street, were found several fragments of tessellated pavement at sufficiently distant spots to leave no doubt that a pavement extended continuously along its whole length. The southern slip divided the wide apartment in the middle of the Basilica from the building of the Baths, and two doors at least led through its boundary wall to the south, one leading into the Baths, the other into the public Latrinæ. From this, and other circumstances, I have been led to think that it was a public passage, and I believe some traces were found of its having been paved with flag-stones. Moreover, it was at a lower level than the floors of the central division and northern slip. It appears that about its centre some fragments of tessellated pavement were found by the

men employed in excavating, but, as the site of this building, the Basilica, had been greatly broken up in excavating for building materials, for large breaches were found in the long central walls almost if not quite to their foundations, and as only small fragments of the northern tessellated pavement remained, I suspect that the fragments of pavement first mentioned as found in the southern passage were merely bits of the northern pavement dropped there by the excavators while carrying away materials.

These fragments of the northern pavement have now been all covered up; but before this was done, they were carefully examined and drawn by my friend Mr. George Maw, of Benthall Hall, near Broseley, who, as one of the first and most celebrated of our artists in encaustic tiles, was eminently qualified to form a judgment upon them. At the congress of the British Archæological Association at Shrewsbury in 1860, Mr. Maw exhibited a drawing of a restoration of this pavement of the northern corridor, as he terms it, accompanied by a paper, both of which were subsequently published in the volume of the Transactions of the Association for 1861. He represents it, I have no doubt with perfect truth, as consisting of a series of oblong panels of simple geometrical patterns, composed of dark grey and cream-coloured tessellæ, and, as in most Roman pavements, surrounded, next the wall, by a broad field of uniform colour, in this instance of a greenish grey tint. Narrow bands, about five inches wide, branching from this, divided the whole pattern into panels of about eight feet by eleven feet. The panels at each end appear, by the remains, to have been eleven feet square. The general character of these designs, will be understood by the accompanying cut (on next page) of the remains of the tenth panel from the eastern end of the corridor, for which I am indebted to the kindness of Mr. Maw. He thinks that these equal divisions of the pavement may have had

relation to some other members of the building, and suggests that the sides of the corridor next the central apartment may have been a kind of open arcade, the piers of which corres-



Tessellated Pavement from the Corridor of the Basilica of Uriconium.

ponded with the partitional bands of the design. I think this by no means improbable. This pavement, it may be remarked, is of much coarser work than the pavements which have been found in some of the Roman towns and villas in this island, such, for example, as those at Cirencester and Woodchester.

As the workmen dug below the level of the pavement, Mr. Maw had an opportunity of examining the construction of the foundation on which it was laid, and I prefer giving the description of it, as well as that of the pavement, in his own words. "The foundations on which tessellated pavements were laid," he remarks in the paper just quoted, "were of two distinct kinds,—one formed in connection with the hypocausts, when it consisted of a thick and uniform layer of coarse concrete resting on the large tiles which formed the tops of the flue-pillars;—the other formed for the pavements of apartments such as those now under consideration, where they rested on the solid ground without the intervening subterranean air-flues, termed the *ruderatio* by Vitruvius. This appears to have been an elaborate and rather careful construction, and agrees in its formation in nearly all Roman remains that have been described. At Wroxeter, it consisted of four distinct layers of materials, forming, in the aggregate, a substratum nearly three feet thick. Its principal bulk consisted of a bed, two feet thick, of lumps of red sandstone, the surface of which was levelled by a layer of a kind of mortar rather soft and fine in texture, of about eight inches in thickness. It appears to have served merely to fill up the irregular cavities of the stone. The bed resting on this, and forming the immediate foundation of the mosaic, was a level layer of singular hardness, about two inches and a half thick, composed of a mixture of lime and coarsely powdered burnt earth, or brick rubbish;* and, from its uniform thickness and even surface, appears to have been very carefully prepared for receiving the tessellæ. The fourth layer, in which the tesseræ were immediately bedded, consisted of quite white and very hard cement, which was also used for filling in the joints. This construction appears to have been a well recognised process by the Roman writers,

* "Cements of this composition are frequently met with in Roman buildings, and possess extraordinary durability. It was also used at Uriconium as a floor-surface, especially in the hypocausts, where it is seen nearly a foot thick, resting on the large slabs forming the tops of the tile pillars."

and in its entirety is called by Vitruvius, the *ruderatio;* the constituent strata being termed the *statumen, rudus,* and *nucleus,* which evidently correspond respectively with the three principal layers occurring at Wroxeter. Professor Buckman, in his work on the Cirencester remains, also describes the foundation of the Roman pavements there of precisely similar construction, excepting only that the lower layer, or *statumen,* consisted of rammed gravel, in lieu of the sandstone used at Uriconium. In each case the materials forming the bulk of the foundation would be such as could be most easily obtained close at hand, and would vary with the locality.

"The materials with which the tesseræ were composed," Mr. Maw goes on to state, "were, first, a light cream-coloured limestone, of very compact texture, which was, I think, from its apparent identity with that known in Italy as Polombino, in the formation of the tessellated mosaics of Rome and the mediæval Italian mosaics, imported. This, of course, formed the light, or pattern portions, of the pavement. The dark parts of the long pavement were composed of two kinds of stone; that used in connection with the cream-coloured tesseræ in the panelled patterns is of a dark bluish colour, much resembling marble in texture, and, as it was evidently used very sparingly, I am inclined to think it was imported from abroad with the cream-coloured stone, or, perhaps, was one of the finer stones of the lias formation of our own country, brought from a distance. The broad dark band forming the outside of the pavement, was made of a greenish stone of open texture, which I believe occurs at the foot of the Wrekin. It was incapable of such fine working as the other material, and probably would not wear so well; so I am inclined to think its employment in the pavement at all, was merely on account of economy, to save the more costly stone before described. Here and there you find a little fragment of it in the body of the patterns, which had probably been employed in subsequent repairs, when

the better stone was not procurable. In addition to these three natural stones, we find red terra-cotta introduced in the formation of the guilloche border surrounding the panel."

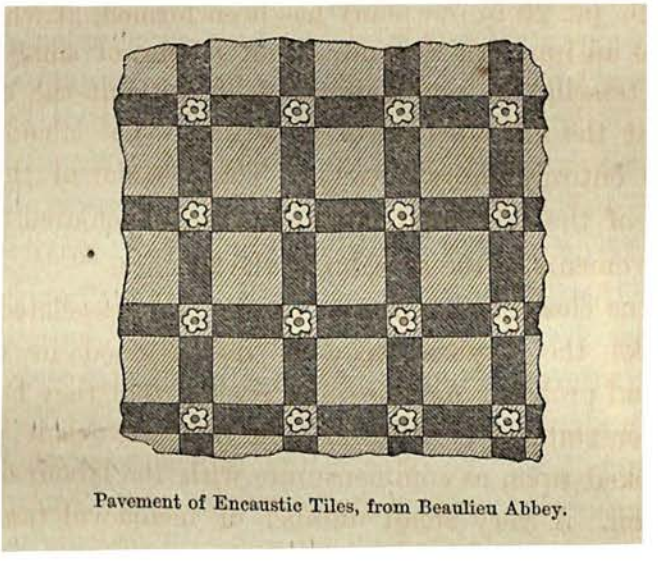
Mr. Maw adds another remark worthy of our notice. "It is rather an interesting fact, that these remains of pavements afford confirmatory evidence of the supposed destruction of the building by fire. Several of the fragments in the Shrewsbury Museum are very much discoloured, the light cream-coloured tesseræ being turned of a greyish hue, a tint that would be produced on any yellow stone by a low degree of heat. Nearly all the fragments of pavements are more or less discoloured, the grey tints graduating in patches, from its darkest shade to the natural colour of the stone, in such a manner as to render it certain that they would not be produced by selection in the arrangement of the tesseræ; and I think there is little doubt, that they are the effect of the burning timbers of the building that fell upon the floors on the destruction of the city. Here and there, also, we find corresponding patches of the pavement, where the concrete foundation is entirely decomposed, and has the character of slacked lime. I am more inclined to think, that this was also the result of the partial application of heat, than that it was due to mere exposure to the weather, as a large portion of the foundation remains in the original state. It is worthy of note, that the pavement of cream-coloured tesseræ forming the bottom of the bath, which would probably have been covered and protected by water at the time of the conflagration, shows no symptoms of the grey discolouration observed in the pavements, but is singularly clear and uniform in colour, when compared with them."

When we look at the finer examples of these tessellated pavements, even in their present condition, worn and battered by the agency of time and violence, we cannot but feel convinced of the beautiful effect which they produced when fresh and perfect. They must have presented somewhat

the appearance of a floor covered with a fine carpet. The labour required to produce them must have been immense, yet the Romans, in the provinces, at least, seem to have entertertained almost a passion for this sort of ornamentation. We have a singular example of this feeling in the Baths of Uriconium, where the floor of what appears to have been a cold-water bath (at 20 in our plan) has been formed, at what must have been an immense expenditure of labour, of small cream-coloured tessellæ in one uniform field, without the slightest attempt at the introduction of a pattern. The labour, therefore, was entirely thrown away. The tessellæ of this floor are made of the same material as the cream-coloured tessellæ of the pavements of the corridor of the Basilica.

After the close of the Roman empire, the tessellated pavements, like the hypocausts, were discontinued in western Europe, and probably for the same reason, that they belonged to a higher state of cultivation, and that the result was no longer looked upon as commensurate with the labour of their construction. A very small number of mediaeval tessellated pavements is known, and these mostly under circumstances which may be considered exceptional. There is a very remarkable example in a small early chapel outside Ripon, which had formed the pavement of the altar platform, but its proximity to Aldborough, the *Isurium* of the Romans, celebrated among modern antiquaries for its tessellated pavements, would lead us to suspect that this pavement, or at least the materials, had been brought from that site. It is, I think, an example unique in our island. In the middle ages, the encaustic tiles took the place of the tessellæ, but these were used chiefly for public buildings, more especially for buildings of an ecclesiastical character, and in houses, of whatever kind, no attempt appears to have been made to ornament the floors, until carpets were introduced. Nevertheless, the mediaeval builders had studied at least the designs of the pavements left by the Romans, and we

trace in the designs and arrangement of the encaustic tiles evident imitations of them. M. de Caumont, in his Abécédaire,* gives an example of encaustic tiles from the ruins of Saint-Sampson-sur-Rille, in France, which are exact copies of the geometrical designs of a Roman tessellated pavement found in that district. In the same manner, the accompanying engrav-



Pavement of Encaustic Tiles, from Beaulieu Abbey.

ing, representing part of a mediæval pavement found in the abbey of Beaulieu in Hampshire, is almost a copy of the panel of the tessellated pavement of the corridor at Wroxeter, a portion of which is given in our previous cut.

At the time when the practice of making tessellated pavements died away in the western provinces of Rome, it took a new development in the east, and it was thence that at a later period the art was brought back into the west. It appeared also under a new name. In monuments, mostly of a popular character, going as far back at least as the fourth century, we find this pictorial work formed by very diminutive dies of different substances, indicated by the name of *musivum opus*, musive

* De Caumont, Abécédaire ou Rudiment d'Archéologie (Architecture Religieuse), p. 19. 4th edition.

work. An inscription given in Muratori,* speaks of a fountain which was adorned with such *musivum opus;* and Ælius Spartianus, in his life of Pescennius Niger, speaks of a picture of that general in an arched porticus at Rome executed in this same musive work.† One of the laws of Constantine the Great related to artificers in musive work—*musivarios artifices.* Again, a Roman inscription found near Tunis, given by Spon,‡ and another printed by Gorius,§ speak of chambers ornamented with *museum opus;* and another of the minor historians of the emperors, Trebellius Pollio, mentions a civic crown pictured with *museum* work.‖ The origin and primitive meaning of this word are, I believe, totally unknown, and the people who used it were evidently uncertain as to its form. At a date almost as early as that of the words *musivum* and *museum,* we find another form, *musaicum opus,* and this, though not much in use till a considerably later period, finally took the place of all the others under that of *mosaic,* which is still in use.¶

Among the Byzantine Greeks, this tessellated work appears to have been no longer used for pavements, but almost exclusively for ornamenting the walls, in place of the Roman fresco painting. This is the position in which we find nearly all the *musivum opus,* in the east. Some of the old antiquaries held that it was correct to call a pavement tessellated, and that *musivum opus,* or mosaic, was a term exclusively applicable to the tessellated work on the walls. And in the instances of the use of the word just given, the picture of Pescennius Niger in the porticus, must have been on the wall, and the ornamenta-

* Fontem hunc Lysium quem.... C. Lycius Postumus opere musivo exornavit.

† Hunc in Commodianis hortis in porticu curva pictum de musivo inter Commodi amicissimos videmus Sacra Isidis ferentem.—*Ælii Spartiani* Pescennii Nigri, p. 215.

‡ Et hoc amplius pro sua liberalitate cameram superposuit et opere museo exornata.

§ Camera opere museo exornata.

‖ Coronam civicam picturatam de museo. *Trebellii Pollionis* Tetricus Junior, inter Hist. August. Scriptores.

¶ From the pavements and walls, the *musivium opus,* or mosaic work, would soon be carried to the ornamentation of objects of various kinds, and we know of its use for this purpose at a very early period of the middle ages. Such no doubt was the civic crown of Tetricus. But the practice of mosaic in western and southern Europe is generally considered to have been derived chiefly from the east.

tion of the chambers and of the fountain of Lysius, were probably of the same character. It is a very remarkable circumstance that, in two of the rooms we opened in excavating the Baths of Uriconium (marked 17 and 19 in the plan) we found that the walls had been ornamented with this mosaic work, identical in every respect in its structure with the mosaic of the tessellated pavements of the Basilica. The lower part only remained perfect, in consequence of the breaking away of the walls, but it presented the design of a guilloche border, which no doubt had enclosed a large central pattern, or possibly a picture. It has nearly all fallen since it has been exposed to the atmosphere, but a piece of it is preserved in the Museum in Shrewsbury. This is the only example of such mural ornamentation yet found among Roman remains in this country, and I know of none found in Gaul. It belongs probably to a late Roman period, when this sort of ornamentation had come into vogue in the west, where it was probably never very popular. It remained, however, in great favour among the Byzantine builders in the east until the eleventh century, after which time it was superseded by fresco-painting.

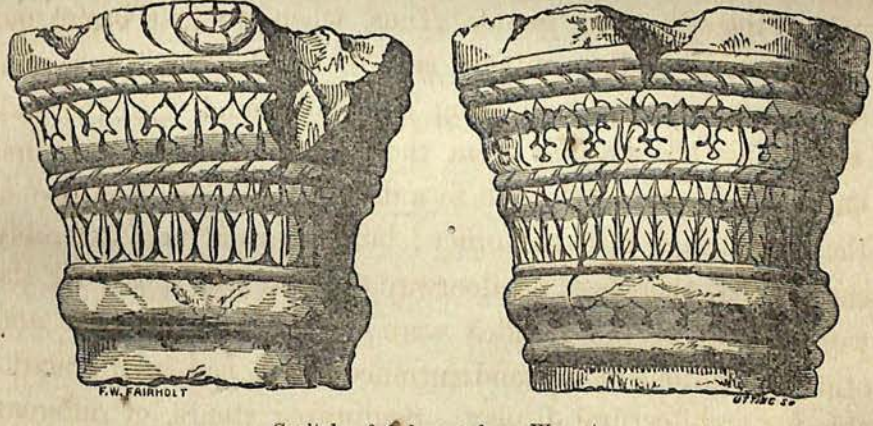
Another kind of pavement is found very generally at Wroxeter. It is formed of small tiles, resembling more in form our modern bricks, about six inches long, by three inches wide, and an inch and a half thick. These are laid edgeways, and placed in zigzag rows, forming what is commonly called herring-bone work. They composed thus a handsome and good floor, and a dry one; and they appear to have been used generally in small courts, passages, and rooms, which were open to the sky. The central part of the Basilica, and that of the Latrinæ, the court of the supposed Market Place, and some rooms of the baths, were paved in this manner, and present excellent examples of the herring-bone pavement.

Hitherto we have had no opportunity of making ourselves acquainted with the manner in which the architectural orna-

mentation of the buildings was distributed over the town of Uriconium, but we have good reasons for believing that it was employed in abundance. Shafts of columns, capitals, cornices, mouldings, and other sculptured stones, have been found in all parts where we excavated, but generally more or less bruised and broken, and under circumstances which seemed to show that they lay on the spot where they were dropped or thrown when, at a later period, the building materials were carried away for other purposes. Relics of a similar description, which have been accidentally dug up by the farmers' labourers, are preserved in the gardens and farm yards in the present village and its immediate neighbourhood, especially in those of the vicarage and of Mr. Stanier and Mr. W. H. Oatley. Many of these monuments are also brought up from time to time from the bed of the river, where also they were no doubt dropped from the boats or rafts in the course of transporting the buildings by water. But in no case, except, perhaps, the pillars of what we believed to be the Forum, can we assume with any certainty that a sculptured stone of any kind has belonged to a building which stood upon or very near the spot where the stone was found. Thus, when we first began our excavations, at the southern side of the Basilica, the capital of a column was found lying on the ground, near the wall separating the Basilica from the Baths, and it was at first supposed to have belonged to a doorway leading from one of these buildings into the other; but it seems now tolerably certain that there was no doorway at all at this spot. At the western end of the Basilica were found plinths of stone and other indications of a grand entrance which had been remarkable for architectural display. Sculptured stones, of different kinds, were found in several parts of the Baths. Pieces of stone cornices and other architectural fragments lay in the middle of a small room near to the buildings of the Baths. The shaft of a large column was found in what we call

the enameller's shop: and capitals as well as portions of the shafts of columns were found scattered about what is supposed to be the market-place.

Two parts of capitals, found in the quadrangular court, or market-place, and now preserved in the Museum at Shrewsbury, which perhaps belonged to the façade of a temple, and of the more perfect of which an engraving has already been given in the present volume,* approach near to classical elegance. But in general the style of the Uriconian sculptures is very debased, and evidently of a rather late date approaching to mediaeval. It all displays the tendency to profuse ornamental detail and to that love of quaint forms, which is so peculiar to mediaeval, and especially to Byzantine architecture. Two capitals, formed of grey conglomerate, procured by Mr. Oatley of Wroxeter, from the bed of the river, were presented by him, I believe when churchwarden, to be placed on the two columns of the new entrance gateway to the modern churchyard, where they still stand, though becoming more and more defaced by the weather. They are represented in the accompanying cut.



Capitals of Columns from Wroxeter.

It will be seen that these capitals present the same character of design, and, although the design itself is very much varied

* See before, p. 157.

in detail, there can hardly be a doubt that they belonged originally to the same colonnade, or, at least, to the same system of columns. They are each about sixteen inches in height. Another capital, identical in style with the preceding, but presenting further varieties in detail, is represented in the first figure of our plate of Roman capitals found at Wroxeter. Like the others it is sixteen inches in height, and about twenty inches in diameter across the top. It was also, as well as the two other capitals given in the same plate, dredged from the river, and preserved by Mr. Oatley. One of these (fig. 2) measures twenty inches by twelve, and the other (fig. 3) nineteen inches by sixteen. A number of other capitals of columns may be seen in the garden of the late Mr. Stanier; and others may be seen in the Shrewsbury Museum. A plain capital of a very large Roman column, which has been hollowed out into a mediaeval font, may be seen in the church.

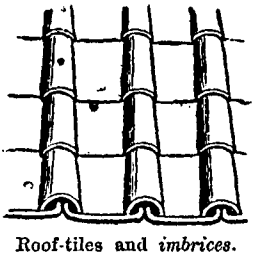
Among the Roman remains in Mr. Oatley's garden, are two fragments of columns which he preserved from being used in building a wall, and which are represented in our plate of Roman columns found at Wroxeter. They are both made of grey sandstone, but not, as usual with the shafts of columns, smooth or fluted. The first, which is thirty-one inches in length and thirteen in diameter, is ornamented, in the upper part, with scales, and beneath, with crossed bands or trellis work. Upon it is sculptured a figure which appears to be intended for that of Atys, with the *braccæ*, or trowsers, thrown open in front, as he is commonly represented carrying them. In the animal by his side, we may probably recognize a shepherd's dog.* The lower part only of this figure remains. The other column, which is thirty-four inches long by twelve in diameter, is entirely covered with the scale ornament, and,

* My friend, Mr. Roach Smith, is of opinion that the figure may possibly have been intended to represent "a Bacchus, and that the animal on the right hand may have been intended for a panther, the head of which seems directed to some object, probably a wine-cup, or bunch of grapes." See his Collectanea Antiqua, vol. iii. p. 31. If Mr. Smith be correct, the sculptor was certainly not a very skilful delineator of animal life.

on the lower part, the sculptor has represented a cupid, kneeling upon a pannier and holding bunches of grapes. They appear to be two columns from the same colonnade. This style of ornamenting the shafts of columns is very unusual among the Roman remains in Britain; but, as Mr. Roach Smith remarks, examples are not uncommon in some of the temples in Italy, and the scale or leaf ornament is common, especially in the south. I believe there are fragments of columns of somewhat similar character in Mr. Stanier's garden.

The Romans appear rarely to have had upper floors in their houses, but all the rooms were situated on what we should call the ground floor. In the present condition of the remains, it would, of course, be difficult to say what was the original elevation of the building, or whether there had been rooms above, or not; but an upper-floor requires a stair-case, or something of that kind, and in all our exploration of Roman houses in Britain, whether in villas or in towns or stations, I believe that no one has yet found the slightest traces either of a stair-case or of anything which could be supposed to be a place for a stair. The principal rooms were probably lofty.

The roofs appear to have been generally ridged, whether high or low we have no means of judging, at least as far as regards the Roman buildings in our own island. In Italy the roofs were covered with tiles *(tegulæ)*, which are said by Pliny to have been first introduced about the time of king Pyrrhus, that is, in the first half of the third century before Christ. The roof-tiles were square, with two parallel edges flanged. They were laid in rows, from the bottom of the roof to the ridge, with the flanged edges upwards and joining, so as to form parallel lines, which lines of flanges were covered with other tiles made in the form of half tubes, and called technically



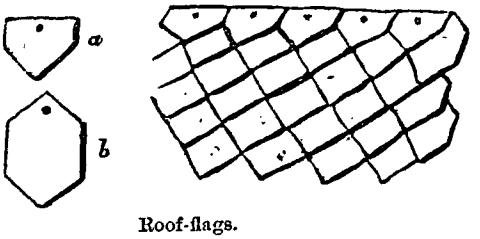
Roof-tiles and *imbrices*.

imbrices. When Plautus would describe the effects of the storm on the roofs of the houses, he says that it broke both the *tegulæ* and the *imbrices.*

—Tempestas venit,
Confregit tegulas imbricesque.
Plautus,—Mostellaria, act i. sc. 2.

This arrangement of the roof-tiles will be best understood by the accompanying cut.

These roof-tiles, which were used also for other purposes, as for forming the beds of drains, and even sometimes in the place of wall-tiles, are found scattered about at Wroxeter, but not in very great numbers. They are abundant among the remains of Roman buildings in the midland, eastern, and southern counties, where they were certainly the favourite materials for the Roman roofs. But in the rocky districts of the west and north, especially where the rocks were of a slaty character, or split easily into laminæ, the roof was more commonly made of thin slabs of stone. The slab was made in the form of an elongated hexagon, as represented at *b* in the annexed cut, with a hole at the upper angle for a nail or peg, by which it was fixed to the wood-work. They were placed overwrapping one another, so as to form a pattern of lozenges, as represented in the cut. Half-hexagons, as represented at *a* were made to place at the top, so that they should finish in a straight line, and a row of ridge-tiles was probably carried along the line. From the great quantity of these slabs which are found scattered about among the ruins of Uriconium, and many of which still retain the nail in the hole, it is evident that this was the sort of roofing most in use in the Roman city. They are formed of the micaceous laminated sandstone which is found on the edge of the Shropshire and North Staffordshire



Roof-flags.

coal-fields, and the particles of mica are so thickly scattered in it, that the roofs of Uriconium, when seen in the sunshine, must have sparkled and glittered in a most extraordinary manner.

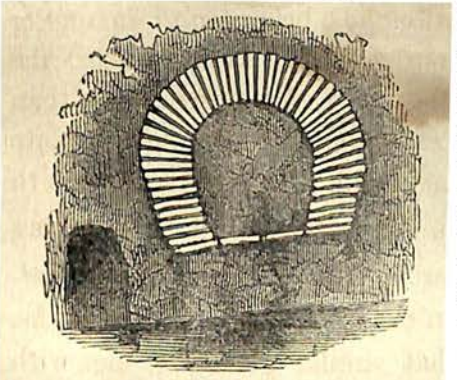
When exploring the remains of Roman houses and other buildings in Britain, we are often surprised at the small number of doors with which we meet. Often indeed we find a room without any apparent entrance. Perhaps this is to be explained by supposing that the sill of the door was placed sometimes higher above the floor than the present elevation of the ruin of the wall. The Romans appear nearly always in this country to have placed the sills of the doors at some height above the level of the floor, perhaps with a view to securing internal dryness and warmth. They would no doubt be approached on either side by a step, or steps, most likely of wood, or some other perishable material. We have met with several instances at Wroxeter where the door-sill, raised to a certain height in the wall, was approached by a step of stone. Probably the doors of the houses were not much decorated, and in our excavations we have not yet found a single fragment of ornament which can have belonged to them. The door to the hypocausts in the Baths had a circular head very nicely turned with tiles, but these have in great part perished since exposure to the atmosphere.

We know less of the character of the windows of the Romano-British houses than of the doors, and there can be no hope of finding any of the walls of Wroxeter remaining to a sufficient elevation to throw any light on this part of the subject. But of this we are certain, that the Roman windows were glazed, for several pieces of undoubted window-glass have been found in the course of the excavations, and examples will be found in the Museum at Shrewsbury. Window-glass had already been met with in exploring the sites of Roman settlements in this island. In the excavations at Lympne in Kent, the site of the Roman *Portus Lemanis*, carried on under

the direction of my friend, Mr. Roach Smith, I myself picked up, on the floor at the foot of a wall in the interior of a large room, a number of fragments of window-glass, which had evidently fallen from the windows in the wall when they were broken. In this instance the glass was thin, much like the ordinary glass of the windows of our old houses. I believe that glass of a similar description has been found in one or two of the Roman villas in our island. At Wroxeter, the glass hitherto found is of fine quality and rather more than the eighth of an inch in thickness, resembling our modern plate glass, except that it is less transparent. In fact it appears to have been intended for admitting light, rather than for seeing through, presenting almost the appearance of ground glass. This glass was found chiefly on the site of the public Baths. It is a curious circumstance that similar glass was met with in the Baths of Pompeii. In the vaulted roof of the Apodyterium of these Baths a window was found, two feet eight inches high and three feet eight inches wide, closed by a single large pane of cast-glass, two-fifths of an inch thick, fixed into the wall, and ground on one side, it is supposed for the purpose of preventing persons on the roof from looking into the bath. Many fragments of this glass are stated to have been found among the ruins of the Baths of Pompeii.

Our excavations have not yet been carried far enough to throw any light upon the character of the drainage of the domestic buildings in Uriconium, but we know that the Romans always gave great attention to the sanitary condition of their towns. The drains, or *cloacæ*, of Rome were celebrated for their great dimensions and for their extreme antiquity, and, therefore, durable character. The principal sewers in the city of Rome are stated to have been built by Tarquin the Elder, who died in the year 578 before Christ, and to have been so wide and lofty that a wagon laden with hay could pass along them. We have hardly any knowledge of the system of

drainage of Roman London, partly from the circumstance that excavations in London have always been accidental, and never carried on with an antiquarian object, and still more because the Roman sewers probably lie at a greater depth than the excavators usually reach. The accompanying cut represents the section of what appears to be a sewer, and is certainly of the Roman period, which was discovered somewhat more than twenty years ago at a considerable depth under Little Knight Rider Street, in the city of London. It passed through a wall of Kentish rag; and the arch was formed of tiles about twelve inches long. The dimensions of this sewer were about three feet by two.* Another apparent sewer, also arched, and three feet wide by three feet and a half high, was found about the same time under Old Fish Street Hill.† Sewers have been met with in excavations among the stations on the line of the Roman wall. But the most interesting examples of Roman sewers yet discovered are those at Lincoln, the Roman *Lindum*, which are still in good preservation, and present not only the main *cloacæ*, but the transverse drains running from the houses into them. They are built of excellent masonry, but, instead of being arched, are covered with large flags of stone. The cut on the next page represents one of these sewers in its present condition, with the mouths of two of the transverse drains. Mr. C. Roach Smith walked up it without difficulty more than a hundred yards.



Roman Sewer in London.

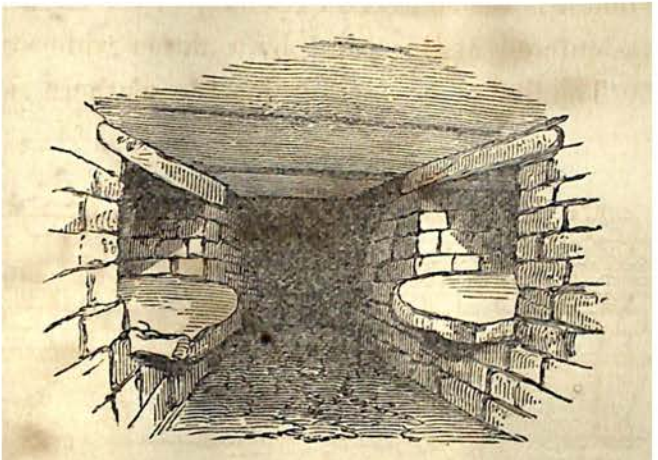
The finest sewer yet discovered at Wroxeter is that in the Baths, already mentioned.‡ It crossed a square pit, resembl-

* This relic of Roman London is described in the Journal of the British Archæological Association, vol. i. p. 253, from which our cut is borrowed.

† See the same volume of the Archæological Association, p. 45.

‡ See pp. 119 and 130 in the present volume.

ing a cess-pool, and ran directly north towards the Old Wall, through which probably it passed, and no doubt in one direction or the other, it emptied itself into a main sewer, running

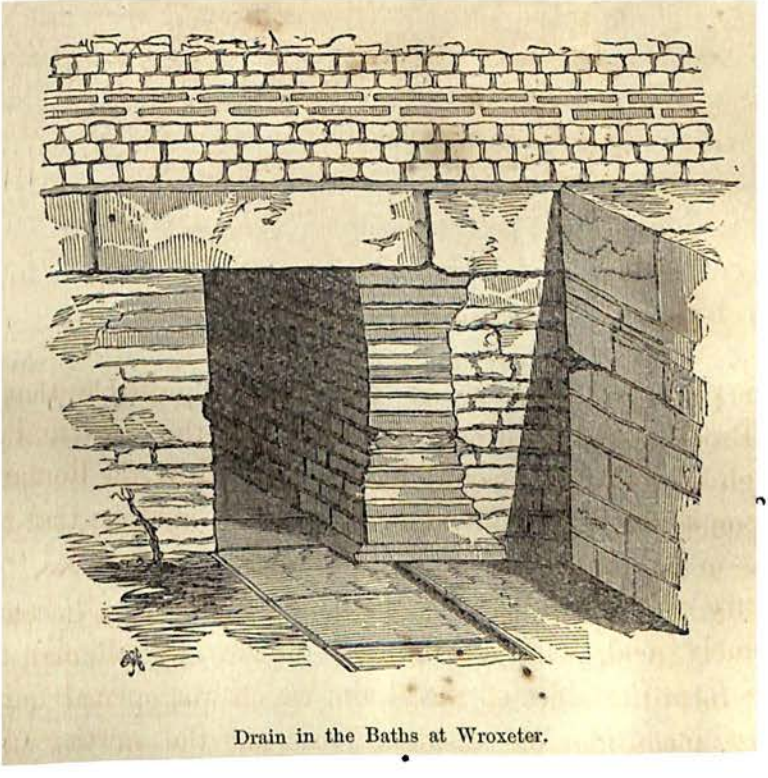


A Roman Main Sewer at Lincoln.

down perhaps to the river. It is hardly probable that the Bell Brook, running through the middle of the town, and slow enough in its course, would have been used by the Romans as an open sewer, as some have supposed, who imagine that these drains in the higher ground emptied themselves into it. The masonry of this drain, and of all the buildings adjacent, is extremely good, with a profusion of the large Roman tiles. These form the sides of the drain, which was opened only to a very inconsiderable distance towards the north. It is covered by a large block of stone, belonging to a course of similar stones which run horizontally along the wall. The floor of the drain is formed of a course of roof-tiles, the flanged edges turned upwards. When first uncovered, the square pit and drain were in a remarkably good state of preservation, and are accurately represented in the cut on the next page, but they have since suffered by exposure to the air.

We can hardly doubt that there must have been a drain from the latrinæ, though its outlet has not yet been traced;

but a still more curious monument of the care of the Romans in this island for the good drainage of their towns has been discovered at the south-western corner of the excavations. Here no doubt is the southern extremity of the ancient Forum, which was entered at this point by a rather wide street from the east. The line of houses forming the southern side of this



Drain in the Baths at Wroxeter.

street, is carried westward considerably beyond the line of the eastern side of the Forum, and then turns at right angles and formed the side of a street running to the south, and coinciding with the present Watling Street Road. At a very small distance from the wall of the houses, running along the side of this street, we found, in a perfect condition, an open drain, which may properly be described as a gutter. It is well formed, of good squared stones, and is about two feet wide by

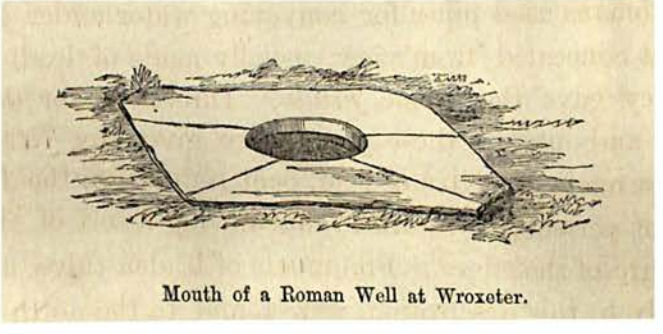
fifteen inches deep; but its most remarkable feature is, that, at short intervals, square stones are placed, diagonally towards the sides of the gutter, and filling it so as hardly to leave any passage for the water, which must, therefore, have filled the channel and flowed over. The stones have evidently been placed in their position by design, but what their object may have been, except for stepping stones, it is difficult to conjecture, and for this purpose they were unnecessary, and would not be of much use. At all events we have here a unique example of a Roman street, with a gutter at the side much like that of our old mediaeval towns. It would seem to show also that the streets of our Roman towns had no paved way at the side for foot passengers.

The Romans used pipes for conveying water under ground, or at least concealed from view, usually made of lead, and to which they gave the name *fistula*. Directions for the construction and use of these *fistulæ* are given by Vitruvius.* They were made of plates of lead, bent round into the form of a tube, not perfectly cylindrical, but having a sort of ridge at the juncture of the edges. Fragments of leaden tubes, answering exactly to this description, were found to the north-east of the Baths and Basilica, in the direction towards rather higher ground in which springs are said to be plentiful, so that they had probably been laid there for the purpose of carrying water to the Baths. They are preserved in the Museum at Shrewsbury. Similar pipes had been met with in the excavations made in 1788 on another part of the site of Uriconium, described in an earlier part of the present volume.†

Water is easily obtained by sinking a shaft in almost any part of the site of the ancient city, and at various times Roman wells have been found in several different places, probably belonging, in most cases, to private houses. One is understood to have been met with towards the south-eastern

* De Architectura, lib. viii., c. 7.
† See page 104.

extremity of the extensive field which includes the present excavations. We came upon a very perfect and interesting well at the upper part of the field in which the skeletons with deformed heads were found, to the westward of the church. It consisted of a circular shaft, two feet and a half in diameter, and about fourteen feet deep. The wall was built of small tiles. Above was a small square platform, measuring six feet by six feet seven inches, and formed of four irregularly shaped flag-stones, about four inches thick. In the middle there is a circular opening over the well, over-passing the brick-work below by about an inch and a half all round. The appearance of this platform when uncovered is represented in the accompanying cut. No doubt there was originally some structure



Mouth of a Roman Well at Wroxeter.

above this platform, with, perhaps, rude machinery for raising water out of the well; but this was probably made of wood, and has perished long ago. When uncovered and cleared out, the water immediately appeared in this well as of old, and it has been since used as a well. But it was found to entail some inconveniences on the farmer, which have caused it to be again covered up.

CHAPTER VI.

THE DOMESTIC FURNITURE OF THE HOUSES; THE POTTERY, FOR THE TABLE AND FOR THE KITCHEN; PROVISIONS; MEANS OF LIGHTING THE HOUSE; BOXES AND COFFERS, AND LOCKS AND KEYS.

MUCH of the domestic furniture of a house in Uriconium would no doubt be made of wood, or of other perishable materials, and that portion which was made of metal would probably be considered either useful or valuable by the rude invaders who destroyed the town, and would be carried away among the plunder, so that we can hardly expect to find any relics of it, as in towns like Pompeii and Herculaneum, which were destroyed by natural causes, and not exposed to pillage. The site of our excavations, too, has not yet introduced us to the private houses of the inhabitants of Uriconium. It is not therefore to be wondered at if we have as yet found little tending to illustrate the way in which the Romans lived indoors, to show us what was the character of their tables and seats, in what form and posture they took their meals, how and on what they reposed, and to answer a number of similar questions; but every object we have met with is so purely Roman in its character, that we are justified in assuming that this was the case also with what is lost, and that the Romans in a town like Uriconium lived just as Romans did in other parts of the empire, and even in Rome itself. We are not, however, quite without monuments of the domestic life of the Urico-

nians, for a considerable number of relics have been found during the course of the excavations which tend to throw at least a partial light on this subject. First of these, and in many respects the most important, is the pottery, which is found too generally broken, but in such large quantities, that we cannot doubt of its having been used in great profusion by the Roman householders. From the purposes for which a very large proportion of the pottery was evidently intended, and from its very elegant and ornamental character, we cannot doubt that the table was covered with it at every meal.

As we collect the pottery from the excavations on Roman sites in Britain, we quickly perceive that, as in modern times, the earthenware used in Roman Britain had issued from a number of different manufactories, which differed very widely in the character of the ware they produced, and a certain number of the most remarkable of these establishments are already well identified with the pottery which they sent forth into the market. The extent to which the trade in pottery was carried is proved by the circumstance that we hardly ever excavate on a Roman site in Britain, no matter how remote, where Roman pottery is found, but we find samples of almost every description of Roman ware which we know to have been in use. It will be well to give a review of the more remarkable of those which have been found in the ruins of our ancient border city.

The pottery which was evidently most valued in Roman Britain, and no less so in Gaul and the other provinces of the west, was a bright red ware, presenting in colour and texture a close resemblance to red sealing wax. The vessels made of this ware are evidently of a superior class, in shape very elegant and extremely varied, and a great proportion of them, at least, seem intended for holding the different articles, solid or liquid, which were served at table. Many of these vessels are quite plain; but a very great number are ornamented

with figures in relief, presenting a great variety of subjects, and often executed in a very good style of art. Antiquaries seem generally agreed in calling this pottery *Samian ware*, and the reasons for adopting this name appear tolerably conclusive. The isle of Samor was certainly so celebrated in the days of ancient Greece for the manufacture of pottery, that there was a legend that this manufacture was invented there. We learn from ancient writers that there was, among the Romans in Italy, a class of earthenware, much valued and in general use, to which they applied the name of Samian. The expressions used by these writers in speaking of it, enable us to recognise several of its characteristics. We learn that the Samian ware of the Romans was red. Pliny informs us that the Samian ware was in great favour for the service of the table, and he adds immediately afterwards an allusion to the potteries at Aretium, in Italy, which would almost lead us to suppose that this Samian ware was made there.* The Roman Samian ware was brittle, and easily broken. One of the personages in the Menæchmi of Plautus begs another to knock gently at the door; he replies, "I fancy you are afraid that the doors are made of Samian ware!"

M. Placide pulta. *P.* Metuis, credo, ne fores Samiæ sient.
Plauti Menæhmi, act i., sc. 2.

And again, in another comedy of the same writer, one of the characters speaking of a woman who was a native of Samos, his companion, punning on the name, says, "Pray, take heed that no one handle her without care, for thou knowest that a Samian vessel is quickly broken."

Vide quæso, ne quis tractet illam indiligens,
Scis tu, ut confringi vas cito Samium solet.
Plauti Balchides, act ii., sc. 5.

This description applies perfectly to the red ware found in Britain to which we give the name of Samian, which is

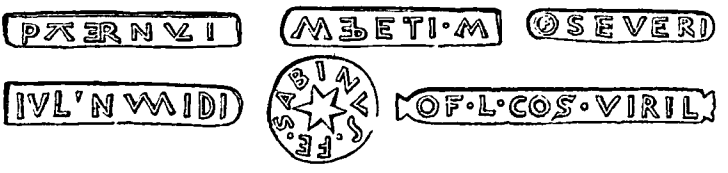
* Major quoque pars hominum terrenis utitur vasis. *Samia* etiamnum in esculentis laudantur. Retinet hanc nobilitatem et Aretium in Italia. *Plinii Hist. Nat., lib. xxxv. c.* 46.

undoubtedly brittle and easily broken, and which appears to have been considered of so much worth, that, when broken in ancient times, it was mended, which was done usually by means of rivets and clasps of metal, lead or bronze, but most frequently the former. Pieces of Samian vessels thus mended are frequently met with, and some examples have been found at Wroxeter.

We have, however, some other means of identifying this pottery, which are curious, and rather accidental. We have seen that Pliny speaks of Aretium, in Etruria, as the great manufacture of pottery in Italy. Isodore, who wrote at the beginning of the seventh century, was well acquainted with the fame of the Aretine vessels, which, he says, were of a red colour.* The ancient Aretium is represented by the modern Italian town of Arezzo, and there in recent times the remains of the ancient potteries have been discovered, and plenty of the pottery which was made in them. An account of this pottery was given by an antiquary of the locality, A. Fabroni, in an octavo volume, entitled *Storia degli antichi Vasi fittili Aretini*, published there in 1841, illustrated with coloured engravings of specimens of the ware. These present a general resemblance to our Samian ware, but with differences quite sufficient to show that they are not identical, whilst other points of less perfect resemblance, would lead us to suppose that the red ware we find so abundantly in Britain and Gaul was originally an imitation of that of Aretium. The Aretine ware is of a deeper shade of red; it is ornamented similarly with figures in relief, but they are in a much superior style of art; and there is another point in which they differ altogether. The vessel of what we call Samian ware is almost always stamped with the name of the maker in a label.

* Aretina vasa ex Arctio Italiæ municipio dicuntur, sunt enim rubra, de quibus Sedulius,
Rubra quod appositum testa ministrat ulus.
Isidori Orig., lib. xx., cap. 4. Sedulios was a Christian poet of the fifth century, so that the ware of Aretium must have been in common use at that time, unless the title of Aretine had been extended to all ware of this description, so as to include our Samian ware.

Examples of these stamps are given in our cut, taken, in this instance, from Samian ware found in excavations in London.



Potters marks on the Samian ware.

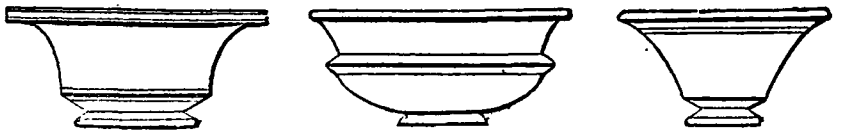
The name is usually stamped across the bottom in the inside, but, in some cases of the embossed vessels, it is found stamped on the outside. The formula of the inscription differs. Sometimes the name is put in the nominative case, and followed by F or FE, for *fecit*, made; in other cases, perhaps the most common, the name is given in the genitive case, and is accompanied by O or OF, for *officina*, from the workshop, or M or MA, for *manu*, by the hand, either before or after the name. Thus, in the examples given in our cut, the name on the circular label is SABINVS.FE, *Sabinus fecit*, or Sabinus made it. Of the others, one reads OF SEVERI, *officina Severi*, from the workshop of Severus; another OF.L.COS.VIRIL, *officina* L *Cosii Virilli*, from the workshop of Lucius Cosius Virillus; a third, MEPETI.M, *Mepeti manu*, by the hand of Mepetus. Sometimes the name is put alone in the genitive case, as here we have on one, which like the last, has ligulated letters, (or combinations of two or more letters in one), PATERNVLI, for *Paternuli*, i.e., the work of Paternulus, and IVL.NVMIDI, *Julii Numidii*, the work of *Julius Numidius*. The stamps on the Aretine ware give totally different names of potters from those found on our Samian ware, and they are placed in a different position. A few years ago, a friend, the late Mr. W. Burckhardt Barker, (son of the well known John Barker, of Suwaidiyah, near Antioch), gave me some fragments of pottery which had been found among remains of the Græco-Roman period, in excavations at Tarsoos, the ancient Tarsus, which bore a close

resemblance to our Samian ware. I afterwards transferred them to the collection of my friend, Mr. Mayer, of Liverpool, and I believe they are now in the well-known Mayer Museum. This ware, also, was rather of a darker red than our Samian. The pieces alluded to were plain, but the potter's name, which was in Greek characters, was stamped much in the same manner. Perhaps we may regard these different sorts of pottery, the specimens from Tarsus, the Aretine, and the red ware of our western provinces, as all belonging to one description of earthenware, the manufacture of which, as the fine pottery for the table, had spread westward, and Mr. Barker's specimens may represent the original manufacture of the isle of Samos. All these facts well considered, we feel justified in continuing to call our red ware of this description *Samian.*

The potters' marks on our Samian ware have a historical value. The variety is very great. I have given, in "The Celt, the Roman, and the Saxon," a list of some hundreds of different names of potters, and almost every new discovery of Samian pottery of any extent, adds some new name or names to the number. The potteries, therefore, wherever they stood, must have been of very considerable extent, and if they had existed within our island, traces of them must have been met with. Yet among all the discoveries and all the explorations made in Britain, nobody has yet found a trace of a pottery for the manufacture of Samian ware. But, on the other hand, potteries of Samian ware have certainly been found in France, chiefly in the neighbourhood of the Rhine, along with some of the tools used in the making; and here again the names of the potters come to our aid. There can be no doubt that a considerable number of these names are Gaulish, and those stamped on the specimens found in our island are generally identical with those found in France. We seem, therefore, justified in considering that the potteries in which what we

call Samian ware was made, were situated in Gaul, chiefly on the banks of the Rhine, and that it was imported into Britain.

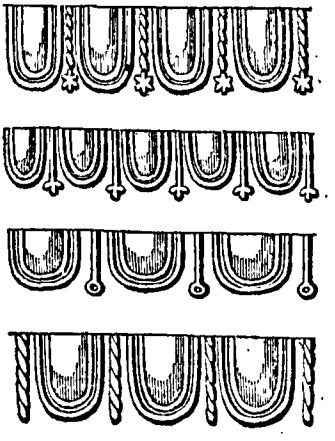
The forms and sizes of the various examples of this Samian ware usually found point all to their use for the table. Many them are of small dimensions, and were evidently employed as cups, and perhaps to hold sauces and condiments of various kinds. Our cut represents three of the commoner forms of these



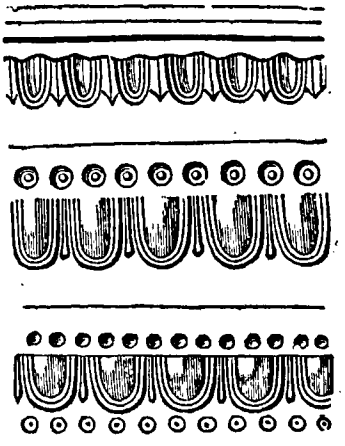
Forms of plain Samian Ware.

small vessels, especially the two outer, which are of very frequent occurrence. The form of the vessel in the centre is less frequently met with. This latter is two inches high by four and a half in diameter; the cup to the left is two inches in height by five in diameter; while that to the right is two inches by four. The smaller vessels are usually plain, but they are always elegant in form. Some of them, however, are ornamented with wreaths or borders of ivy-leaves, which form the simplest article of ornamentation we find upon them. The ivy, we know, was dedicated to Bacchus; and in their great carouses the Romans were accustomed to wear wreaths of ivy on their heads. This circumstance, therefore, points further to the uses for which this ware was employed. The larger bowls and other vessels of this ware are profusely ornamented with figures, as before stated, in relief. One of the chief characteristics of these ornamented vessels is the prevalence of the festoon and tassel, or, as some have called it less appropriately, egg and tongue border, which so generally surrounds them, and which presents some slight variations in its form. I give four of these varieties, from Samian vessels found in London, in the cut on the left. Others will be met with in the samples

of this ware given in the following pages. It is a remarkable fact in confirmation of what has been said in comparing our Samian ware with the Aretine pottery, that in this latter also the festoon and tassel border prevails as the favourite ornament, with its own varieties, though varying more widely from the same ornament on the Samian ware. Three examples of the border as it appears on the Aretine ware are given in our cut on the right, from engravings in Fabroni's book, and it will be seen at once that they are substantially the same as those given in the cut on the left. The designs



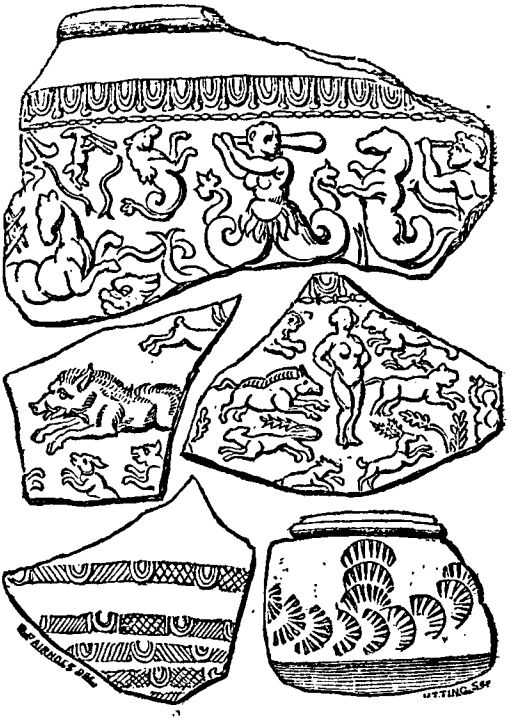
The festoon and tassel border from Samian Ware.



The festoon and tassel border from Aretine Ware.

with which the exterior surface of this ornamental pottery is usually covered are extremely miscellaneous, and are formed of figures of men and women, of animals, birds, and fishes, and of other objects. Some of these present clearly defined subjects, taken from classic poetry and romance; or hunting scenes, combats of gladiators, scenes of domestic life, &c. Others are far more complicated, presenting to the eye often a very inexplicable picture, in which figures of all descriptions are thrown together in the utmost confusion without any relation to each other. I shall endeavour to explain this circumstance a little further on.

Many specimens of Samian ware of all kinds have been found at Wroxeter, and a certain number, ornamented, as well as plain, are preserved in the Museum. I give, selected from these, three examples of the ornaments of the Uriconium Samian ware. The smallest of these is evidently intended to

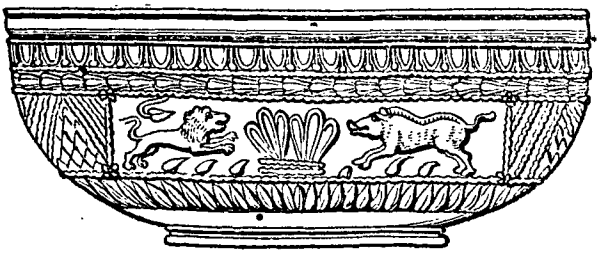


Samian and imitation-Samian ware from Wroxeter.

represent a boar-hunt, and will serve as a good specimen of the bold style in which the figures are usually executed. The upper fragment represents a sea-monster, semi-human, combating with a club a number of other sea-monsters of different shapes. To the right is the figure of a man, in an attitude not quite intelligible, but holding what may be a sceptre or rod, with which he is perhaps exerting authority; it has been suggested that this figure is intended to represent Neptune. To the left is a figure of a more jocular character, representing a hare standing on its hind-legs, and playing on the double

pipes. This, of course, can have nothing whatever to do with the rest of the picture, and can only have been introduced to fill up a blank space. It may be remarked that, in the original, the sea-monster in the centre is clearly represented as androgynous. The subject of the third fragment is quite as unintelligible. The scene appears, from the branches of trees, to be intended for a forest, filled with wild animals, running about in all directions, but without any particular object in view. The centre is occupied by the nude figure of a female, with her hands apparently tied behind her,—in fact, we can hardly doubt that this figure was intended for the classic Andromeda, who is as much misplaced in this example as the musical hare in the former; for we know that Andromeda was bound to a rock on the shore, and exposed to a monster of the sea, and not to the beasts of the forest. Perhaps it will be well if, to illustrate the character of the forms and ornamentation of the specimens of Samian ware already deposited in the Museum at Shrewsbury, and of those which are constantly added to it, we enter a little further into the description of the designs which are usually found on this class of pottery, and describe the mode in which it was manufactured.

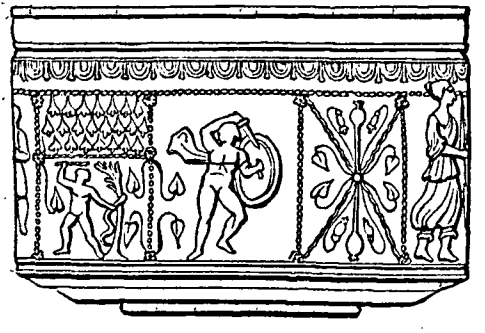
The next cut represents a perfect bowl, five inches high by nine inches in diameter, found some years ago in Bermondsey.



Bowl of Samian Ware.

Nearly half of a bowl of the same type will be found in the Museum at Shrewsbury. It is chiefly remarkable for the rich-

ness of the ornamentation, and as illustrating the love of these Roman artists for figures of wild animals. The next cut represents a vessel found in London, of not very large dimensions, and of a totally different form, but still more elaborately ornamented. It is five inches high by six in diameter. The figures represented in the different compartments of its outer surface belong to a class which is very common on this ware, and was evidently a great favourite with the people who used it, subjects taken from classic fable. The figure to the left, a female modestly dressed and armed with bow and arrows, was



perhaps intended for Diana, or for one of Diana's nymphs. To the left we see one of the heroes slaying with a club a serpent or dragon; perhaps it may be intended to represent one of the exploits of Hercules. The central figure can only be described as a hero, naked, in the act of combating.—Mr. Roach Smith considers it, and probably with reason, to represent a performer in the Pyrrhic dance; but perhaps we may find it in some other pottery design combined with figures which would enable us to define more exactly its meaning. It will be observed that the figure of the nymph is rather too large for the place she occupies, and that the head intrudes upon the bead border and to some degree upon that of the festoons and tassels.

Among the Samian ware found at Wroxeter, there are many fragments ornamented with a class of subjects which

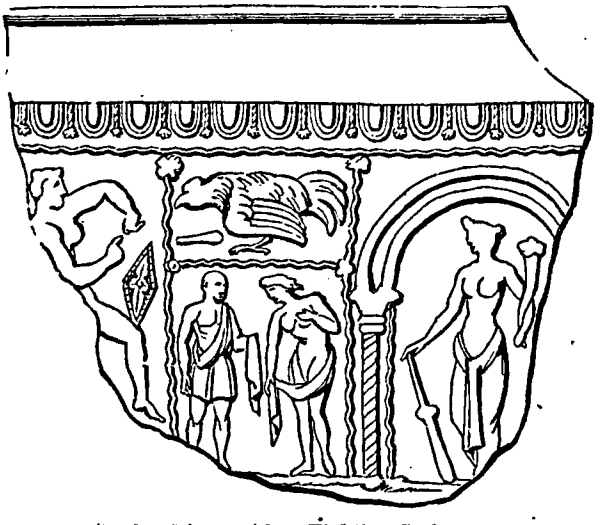
I believe belongs to a rather late date. I give as an example a piece found at Colchester, the Roman *colonia* known by the name of *Camulodunum*; it will be seen that serpents

Samian Ware found at Wroxeter

and serpentine forms are its prevailing ornaments. It is rather a curious circumstance that these forms are found in the Arétine ware of Italy, and Mr. Roach Smith was led, by the examination of the fragments found at Colchester, to believe that this design was a direct imitation. It will be seen that there is here an unmistakeable peculiarity in the border ornaments, the festoon and tassel, &c., which distinguishes it from most of the Samian ware found in Britain; and it is interesting to find even this rarer variety of the Samian pottery in use so far in the distant west as the city of Uriconium.

I return to the Samian ware of I believe an earlier, and evidently a purer style. Our next cut represents a fragment of this ware found in the excavations on the site of the New Corn Exchange in London, and presents as usual rather a confusion of subjects. The figure to the right no doubt represents Fortune, holding the rudder and cornucopia, her characteristics. The other figures are not so easily explained, but the bird cannot be misinterpreted, for it represents un-

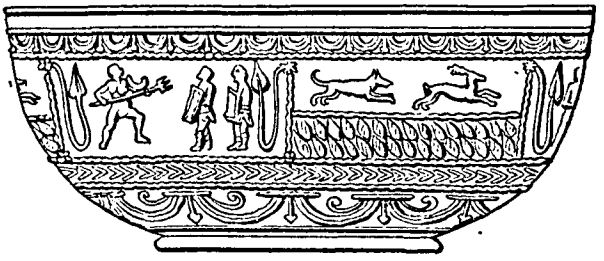
mistakeably a fighting cock. Cock fighting, introduced into Britain by the Romans, seems to have become a perfect passion



Samian Ware, with a Fighting Cock.

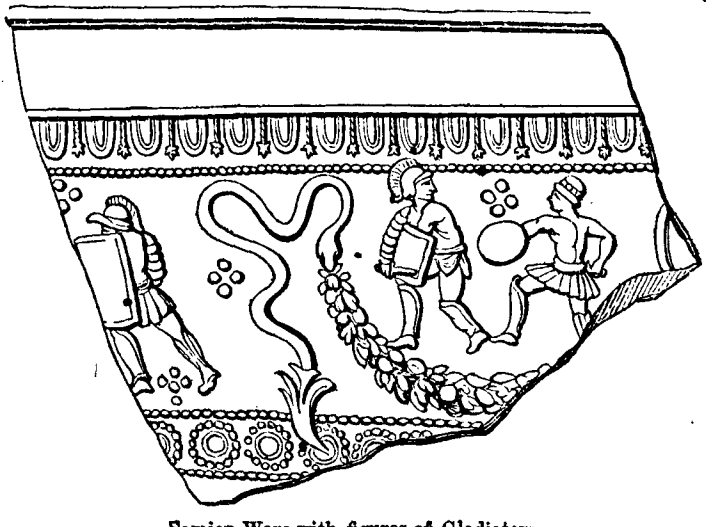
among the Roman colonists. Among the animal bones found in profusion at Wroxeter, have been found many legs of the fighting cock, with very large natural spurs, which leave no doubt that this cruel amusement prevailed to a very great extent in ancient Uriconium. The love of the Romans for sanguinary exhibitions is well known, and it seems to have gained force in the distant colonies for want of other occupation. Every town in Roman Britain was provided with its amphitheatre, generally of considerable extent. The games of the amphitheatre, and especially gladiatorial combats, are favourite subjects on the Samian ware, and appear to have been in great esteem in Britain, for they are found among the fragments of that description of pottery on most of the Roman sites which have been hitherto explored. Sometimes two or three figures of gladiators are introduced among others with which they have no direct relationship. The handsome bowl represented in our next cut was found at Bermondsey, near

London, and is, as usual, decorated with rather miscellaneous subjects. On the side shown in the cut, we have, first, a scene



Samian Vase from Bermondsey.

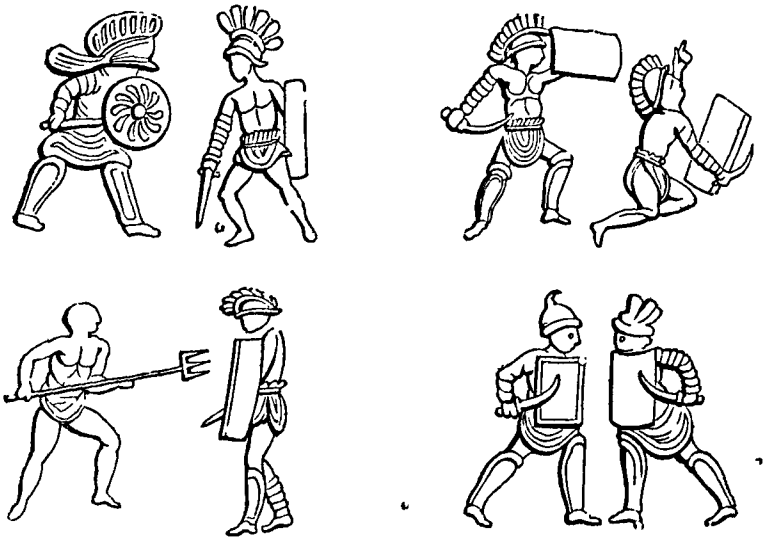
from a stag-hunt, and next, towards the left, a scene in which the *retiarius*, who was armed with a trident and net, with the latter of which he entrapped his antagonist, and then killed him with the former, is represented in face of two gladiators of the class termed *Samnis*, or Samnite, because they were said to be armed in the fashion of the ancient Samnites. Our next cut represents a fragment of a handsome bowl, found also in London, but a bowl of the same pattern, nearly complete,



Samian Ware with figures of Gladiators.

found at Wroxeter, may be seen in the Museum at Shrewsbury. Some of the groups are placed over garlands not unlike

those in the fragment given on page 231. The figures represent a Samnite apparently flying from his antagonist, who is armed with a sword and circular shield, and probably belongs to the class of gladiators who were termed Thracians. Another Samnite is seen to the left. Such figures of gladiators are among the most common ornaments of the Samian pottery, and in general they resemble very closely in all their details the pictures of the same class which occurs on the Roman monuments found in Italy. All the following groups have been found on fragments of Samian ware found at Wroxeter, and most of them are to be seen in the Museum. In the lower cut on the left we see the retiarius, armed only with the trident, engaged with a Samnite, who covers himself with a shield peculiar to his class, while he is fighting with his sword. Above is a Samnite engaged with a Thracian, the latter distinguished by his circular shield. The lowered shield and sword of the Samnite shows that his antagonist has gained the



Gladiators from Samian Ware.

victory. In the upper cut on the right the two combatants are armed similarly, except that one is apparently without greaves.

The latter is evidently vanquished, and he is imploring mercy of the spectators, for it was on their decision it depended whether his conqueror should slay him or not. The other couple are also both armed with curved swords, but they differ considerably in their dress. Both have greaves; the figure to the right has the shield, and perhaps the helmet, of a Samnite, but the helmet and shield of his antagonist present an entirely different character. Combats of wild beasts, and of men with beasts, and especially with bulls, were among the favourite games of the amphitheatre, and are often found on the Samian ware. An example is given in our next cut, from pottery of which examples have been found at Wroxeter, in which the *bestiarius*, as the man employed in such combats was called, armed with shield and axe only, is engaged with a bull. The bull-fight appears to have been the only one of these combats which outlived the Roman period, and we all know how largely it entered into the popular amusements of the middle ages, with the single change that dogs were substituted for the human combatant. In the mediaeval towns in England, the amphitheatre was replaced by the Bull-ring. In Spain the combat between the man and the bull is still preserved, and in some examples on the Samian ware we actually find the man armed with the sword and veil which shows the *bestiarius* literally as the predecessor of the Spanish *matador*.

Bull-fight from the Samian ware.

At the first glance it would seem difficult to explain the process by which the ornaments of the Samian ware were thus made in relief; but, fortunately, some of the tools which the potters used have been found on the sites of their workshops. The potter's name was impressed from a stamp on which it was incised, so that on the pottery the letters appeared in relief. Single figures, whether of men, animals, or other subjects, were

made upon similar stamps. M. Brongniart, in his work on the art of pottery,* has given engravings of both these classes of stamps. Moulds were then made of clay, carefully turned, presenting on a smoothed surface internally the form which was intended to be given to the vessel, and on this internal surface the potter stamped the figures while the clay was still soft, and the moulds were then baked. The vessel itself, formed of soft clay, was placed in the mould and pressed to it, so that it took the figures in relief, and when dry it had no doubt shrunk sufficiently to be taken out. Some years ago, in the Museum of the Comte de Portalés in Paris, I examined some of these moulds which perfectly explained the process of the manufacture. Among the stamps given by M. Brongniart, one has upon it a single element, one festoon and one tassel, of the well-known festoon and tassel border, whence it appears that this border was made on the mould by a repetition of impressions from the same elementary stamp. At first, no doubt, the different figures on the stamps were employed so as to form regular and intelligible subjects, taken from history, or fable, or from the popular manners of the day, and this probably continued to be the case among the more skilful workmen; but others stamped them in without any design of this kind, and seem to have had only one object, that of filling up the whole surface. Hence we continually find such incongruities as occur on the specimens we have already given, Andromeda bound in the midst of a forest, a hare playing on the pipes to sea-monsters, and the like. We even find that the workmen sometimes used their stamps so carelessly that they put in their figures reversed, so as to give a rather singular appearance to the picture. We have a curious example of this in the fragment given in the cut annexed, which is here drawn the actual size of the original, and on which we have a hare or rabbit, no doubt accidentally placed

* Brongniart, Traité des Arts Céramiques ou des Poteries, 8vo., Paris, 1844.

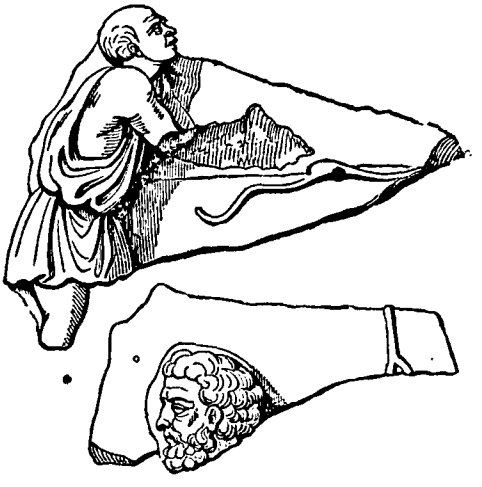
in a reversed position. This method of making the ornamented Samian ware also explains to us how it happens that the figures

Samian Ware, with reversed figure.

in relief are so often imperfect, and why they are so seldom sharp and fresh.

This reversed rabbit is further curious in its bearing on a rather disputed question in mediæval archæology. The buildings and objects most frequently ornamented with figures in the middle ages were, as might be supposed, those of an ecclesiastical character, and one party among our ecclesiologists insist that these figures have a hidden and symbolical meaning of which they sometimes give rather extraordinary interpretations. My own opinion has always been that these figures are to be ascribed chiefly to the imagination or ingenuity of the workmen, who took any subject which presented itself, and no doubt often copied, to the best of their skill, classical figures which were continually met with upon ancient monuments. At the meeting of the British Archæological Association at Ludlow, in 1867, a drawing was exhibited, of figures taken, I think, from painted glass in a church in Shropshire, which had evidently been copied from a well known picture of a part of the ancient Bacchic mysteries, the *mystica vannus Iacchi* of the poet Virgil. On the same occasion, there was an

exhibition of drawings from sculptured stones found in a reversed position in the walls of buildings, and certain questions and some remarks were made on the subject, tending to show that they were placed in that position intentionally with a mystical or symbolical meaning. Some of them, I suspect, owed their anomalous position to mere accident, while others were probably copies from older designs which the ignorant workmen misunderstood. Among them, I remember, was a rabbit reversed in the midst of other figures which were in an upright position, just as here on our piece of Samian ware. In the middle ages, the Roman Samian ware must have been dug up continually, and have often fallen into the hands of the old designers and served them for models. Some one of



Samian Ware found in London.

them had perhaps obtained a piece with the rabbit thus reversed, and considered it as being in this posture an integral part of the picture.

Another class of the Samian ware is found in this country, though it is extremely rare, and was no doubt of much greater value than the other. Mr. Roach Smith possessed, in his fine collection of Antiquities (now transferred to the British

Museum) seven fragments of this ware, two of which are given in the above cut. They differ from the common ware of the same class in the much superior style of art displayed in the execution of the figures, but still more in the manner in which they were made. They are in much higher relief, and instead of being stamped in moulds according to the process before described, they have been moulded separately, and carefully affixed to the surface of the vessel by means of a graving tool. This process is distinctly indicated in all the specimens, and the mark of the tool used for polishing in the line of junction, and freeing it from excrescent clay, is clearly discernible. In the fragments of this pottery we find the substance of the vessel sometimes broken without breaking the figures attached to it, which remain projecting over the fracture, as in the case of the head and leg of the figure on the first of these examples, and in part of the head on the other.

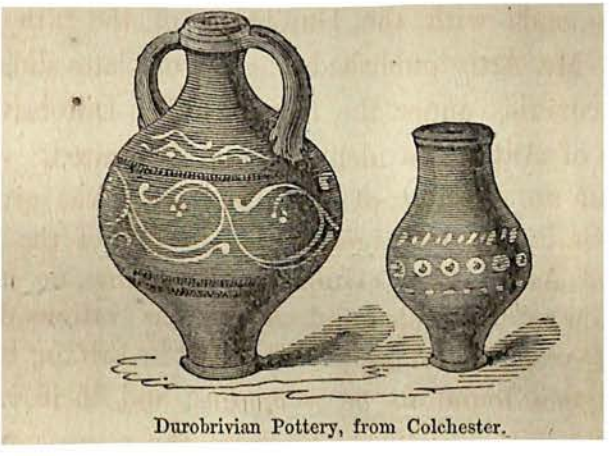
I have stated that we have every reason to believe that the manufacture of this so-called Samian ware was foreign to Britain; but we find in considerable quantities in Roman sites in this country, a ware which was evidently imitated from the Samian pottery, though it presents very considerable differences. It presents nearly the same texture as that which I have been describing, but it is of a lighter shade of red, and the ornamentation, which consists chiefly of geometrical forms, has been produced either by stamping on the pottery itself, when soft, or, more frequently, by incision after it was baked, with some instrument like the tool employed by engravers. Rather numerous fragments of this ware have been found at Wroxeter, and two of them are represented in the group I have given before (p. 228,) of which the idea of the ornament on the example to the left is partly formed upon the festoon and tassel border of the real Samian ware. This pottery may have been made in Britain, where principally it is found, but no potteries have yet been traced from which it might be derived.

I believe that the late Mr. Artis found it among the remains of the potteries of Durobrivæ, of which I am now proceeding to speak, under circumstances which led him to think that it may have been made there.*

Edmund Tyrell Artis was land-steward to Earl Fitzwilliam, and was warmly patronized by the Duke of Bedford. He resided at Castor, near Peterborough, and was possessed of very considerable native talent, with a great love of archæological research. To him we owe the discovery of a very extensive site of potteries of the Roman period in that neighbourhood, which corresponds with the Durobrivæ of the fifth Iter of Antoninus. Mr. Artis published a series of plates illustrative of these discoveries under the title of "The Durobrivis (for Durobrivæ) of Antoninus identified and illustrated," without any text, but an account of the discoveries was given by Mr. Roach Smith in the pages of the Journal of the British Archæological Association. Until our own time, no attempt had been made to distinguish and classify the various descriptions of pottery of the Roman period found in Britain, but now these have been found to be numerous, and their varieties are sufficiently characteristic. This ware, the sources of which was first discovered by Mr. Artis, certainly stood in the first rank. Its ornamentation consisting of figures in low relief, though executed by a very different process, was, we can hardly doubt, imitated from that of the Samian ware; but the ware itself was totally different in its texture, and equally so in its colour. The latter is blue, or slate colour, and the ornamentation is frequently laid on in white; and these characteristics are so strongly marked, that, once known, it may be easily recognized wherever it is found. We meet with it in considerable quantities in almost every Roman site in Britain, so that it must have been very abundant, and very much in vogue.

* Very excellent papers on the Samian ware, by Mr. C. Roach Smith, will be found in the Journal of the British Archæological Association, vol. iv., and in his valuable Collectanea Antiqua, vol. i. I have borrowed some of my illustrations from the former.

The character of the pottery made at Durobrivæ (or Castor) is altogether peculiar. It is generally of a bluish or slate colour, and, like all Roman pottery, its forms are elegant. It is usually adorned with ornaments in relief, which were laid on with the hand after the vessel had been made and partly baked, and are sometimes white. The plainer of these ornaments consist of scrolls and other such patterns. The character of this simple ornamentation will be best understood by the two examples given in the accompanying cut, both found in



Durobrivian Pottery, from Colchester.

excavations at Colchester, the Camulodunum of the Romans. They are given with the shading to furnish a better notion of the general appearance of this pottery. I give the other examples in outline, merely to represent the forms of the vessels, and the subjects with which they are ornamented. The next is a cup, six inches in height, ornamented with an elegant scroll pattern. It was found with other pottery in a sepulchral interment in the neighbourhood of the Upchurch marshes. As I have already stated, a peculiar characteristic of this pottery, and one which we can hardly doubt was

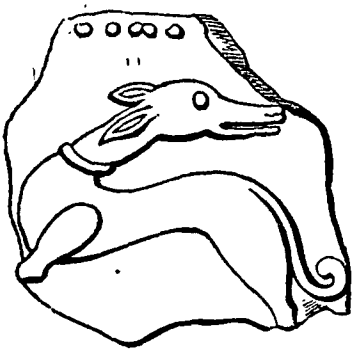
Durobrivian Pottery.

imitated from the Samian ware, is the introduction, very extensively, of pictorial subjects among the ornaments; these subjects being, however, of a local character, for, instead of groups taken from the classical mythology and from purely Roman life, they usually represent hunting scenes or games practised no doubt in this island, and they thus doubly interest us as pictures of real life in Roman Britain. Stag and hare hunts are extremely common, and they were no doubt favourite amusements among the people of our island at this remote period. The two examples here given are from pottery of a

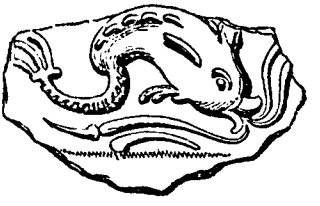
Stag Hunt, from Durobrivian Pottery

brown colour, for it must be understood that the colour is not always quite uniform. Sometimes it assumes a rusty copper tint. No doubt we have here correct figures of British stags, and of the original British stag-hounds. The hounds introduced in pursuit of the hare are identical with these; but we also find sometimes a much fiercer and stronger dog, which seems to have been used for hunting the boar, and which was probably that ferocious dog for which, as we learn from the Roman writers, the island of Britain was celebrated. The cut to the left on the next page represents a fragment of Durobrivian ware found at Colchester, in which we have a good figure of the stag-hound. It is engraved exactly one half the size of the original. Fishes, especially dolphins, are also intro-

duced on this ware, an example of which is given in our cut to the right, from a fragment found at Castor. Their



A British Stag Hound.



A Dolphin, from Durobrivian Ware.

forms were particularly suitable for the process employed in producing the ornamentation of the Durobrivian pottery. Sometimes vessels, which are usually of a darker copper colour, are ornamented with indentations like the niches in a wall, an example of which will be given in a subsequent cut. In some cases these indentations are found filled with upright figures.

Our interest in this particular class of Romano-British pottery is greatly increased by the circumstance that we have found not only the site of the potteries in which it was produced, but some of the kilns in a perfect state, and sufficient evidence to leave no doubt as to the manner in which it was made. I prefer describing this in the words of Mr. Artis himself, as taken down and published by Mr. Roach Smith.* Mr. Artis gave to the kilns at Durobrivæ the name of smother-kilns, from the peculiar manner in which the colour was given to the pottery, which he explains as follows :—"During an examination of the pigments used by the Roman potters of this place," he says, "I was led to the conclusion that the blue and slate-coloured vessels met with here in such abundance were coloured by suffocating the fire of the kiln at the time when its contents had acquired a degree of heat sufficient to

* See the Journal of the British Archæological Association, vol. i. p. 3.

ensure uniformity in colour. I had so firmly made up my mind upon the process of manufacturing and firing this peculiar kind of earthenware, that, for some time previous to the recent discovery, I had denominated the kilns, in which it had been fired, smother-kilns. The mode of manufacturing the bricks of which these kilns are made is worthy of notice. The clay was previously mixed with about one-third of rye in the chaff, which, being consumed by the fire, left cavities in the room of grains. This might have been intended to modify expansion and contraction, as well as to assist the gradual distribution of the colouring vapour. The mouth of the furnace and top of the kiln were no doubt stopped: thus we find every part of the kiln, from the inside wall to the earth on the outside, and every part of the clay wrappers of the dome, penetrated with the colouring inhalation. As further proof that the colour of the ware was imparted by firing, I collected the clays of the neighbourhood, including specimens from the immediate vicinity of the smother-kilns. In colour, some of these clays resembled the ware after firing, and some were darker. I submitted these to a process similar to that I have described. The clays dug near the kilns whitened in firing, probably from being bituminous. I also put some fragments of the blue pottery into the kiln, they came out precisely the same colour as the clay fired with them, which had been taken from the site of the kilns. The experiment proved to me that the colour could not be attributed to any metallic oxide, either existing in the clay, or applied externally; and this conclusion is confirmed by the appearance of the clay wrappers of the dome of the kiln. It should be remarked, that this colour is so volatile, that it is expelled by a second firing in an open kiln."

After some further observations on the condition in which the kilns were found, Mr. Artis goes on to say:—"I now proceed to describe the process of packing the kiln, and securing uniform heat in firing the ware, which was the same

in the two different kinds of kilns. They were first carefully loose-packed with the articles to be fired, up to the height of the side walls. The circumference of the bulk was then gradually diminished, and finished in the shape of a dome. As this arrangement progressed, an attendant seems to have followed the packer and thinly covered a layer of pots with coarse hay or grass. He then took some thin clay, the size of his hand, and laid it flat on the grass upon the vessel; he then placed more grass on the edge of the clay just laid on, and then more clay, and so on until he had completed the circle. By this time the packer would have raised another tier of pots, the plasterer following as before, hanging the grass over the top edge of the last layer of plasters, until he had reached the top, in which a small aperture was left, and the clay right round the edge; and another coating would be laid on as before described. Gravel or loam was then thrown up against the side wall where the clay wrappers were commenced, probably to secure the bricks and the clay coating. The kiln was then fired with wood. In consequence of the care taken to place the grass between the edges of the wrappers, they could be unpacked in the same sized pieces as when laid on in a plastic state, and thus the danger in breaking the coat to obtain the contents of the kiln could be obviated."

Mr. Artis goes on to describe one of the furnaces which he believed to have been used for the purpose of glazing, and then he explains what appeared to him to have been the method employed to produce the ornamentation. "The vessel," he suggests, "after being thrown upon the wheel, would be allowed to become somewhat firm, but only sufficiently so for the purpose of the lathe. In the indented ware, the indenting would have to be performed with the vessel in as pliable a state as it could be taken from the lathe. A thick slip of the same body would then be procured, and the ornamenter would proceed by dipping the thumb or a round mounted instrument into the slip. The vessels, on which are

displayed a variety of hunting subjects, representations of fishes, scrolls, and human figures, were all glazed after the figures were laid on; where, however, the decorations are white, the vessels were glazed before the ornaments were added. Ornamenting with figures of animals was affected by means of sharp and blunt skewer instruments and a slip of suitable consistency. These instruments seem to have been of two kinds: one thick enough to carry sufficient slip for the nose, neck, body, and front thigh; the other of a more delicate kind, for a thinner slip for the tongue, lower jaws, eye, fore, and hind legs, and tail. There seems to have been no re-touching after the slip trailed from the instrument. Field sports seem to have been favourite subjects with our Romano-British artists. The representations of deer and hare hunts are good and spirited; the courage and energy of the hounds, and the distress of the hunted animals, are given with great skill and fidelity, especially when the simple and off-handed process by which they must have been executed, is taken into consideration."

From the costume of the human figures on this pottery, it has been concluded that it belongs to a rather late date; but at whatever period of the Roman occupation of our island the potteries of Durobrivæ were established, they must have been very extensive, and have produced an immense quantity of the ware. Mr. Artis traced the site of the potteries over an extent of more than twenty miles; and he estimated the number of hands who must have been employed at once in them at not less than two thousand.

It may be remarked further that the use of this description of pottery was certainly not confined to Britain, for it is found in great quantities in France, especially in Holland, Belgium, and Flanders. It is not improbable that the earthenware of Durobrivæ may have been an article of export from Britain. The cut on the next page represents a vessel of this pottery which was found at Bredene in the department of the Lys.

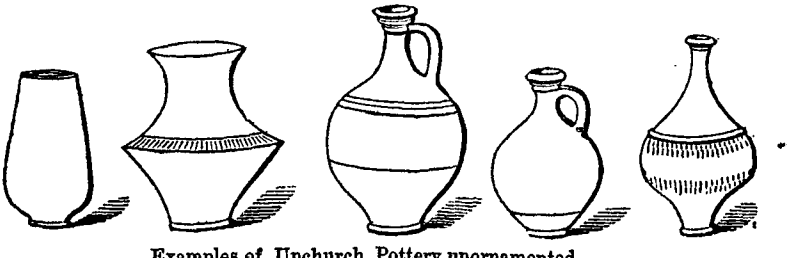
The favourite subjects of hunting the stag and the hare figure upon it, but there are some characteristics in the ornamentation which seem to distinguish the workmanship from that of the Durobrivian ware. However, among the fragments of Durobrivian ware met with at Wroxeter, there are some which bear a resemblance to this example found in Flanders.

Durobrivian Pottery from Flanders.

There is another description of earthenware of the Roman period, of which the potteries, covering a great extent of ground, have been found in our island. A short distance above the mouth of the Medway, the southern bank, for a considerable distance, is formed of low flat land, which is called marshes, though at present it has no particular claim to that name. The action of the tide of the sea has gradually formed creeks which penetrate to a considerable distance inland, and have exposed to view the true character of the ground in this locality. Originally—at least, in Roman times—it was a mass of clay, of a kind very favourable for the manufacture of pottery. It had been taken possession of by a settlement of potters, who erected kilns of apparently the same description as those discovered at Castor by Mr. Artis, and used up the clay gradually as they advanced, throwing upon the exhausted ground behind them their refuse of spoilt and broken vessels. After the Roman times, through some unexplained (perhaps) geological movement, the ground seems to have sunk below its former level, so as to be overflowed by the sea. It appears to have remained in this condition long enough to allow the formation of alluvial soil of from two to three feet thick; after which some other movement must have taken place which raised the level again to a certain height above the sea-level at high water. Since that period the sea has cut these creeks into it which discover a state of things

seemingly justifying the foregoing explanation. The bed of the creeks is formed of the original clay in a liquid state, forming a very tenacious mud. The banks of these creeks are in some parts perpendicular, while in others they slope rather abruptly. In these banks we find a regular layer of broken pottery, about a foot thick, resting upon the clay, and, above this, the hard alluvial earth. The liquid mud forming the bed of the creek is full of this pottery, which may be drawn out by handfulls. The immense extent of these potteries may be judged from the fact, that they have been traced continuously in a line along the coast to a distance of not less than seven or eight miles, and that their site extends in the transverse direction as much as three miles, so that they must have covered, reckoning some of the ground which has no doubt been carried away by the sea, an extent of considerably more than twenty square miles. A great quantity of pottery must have been manufactured to leave a bed of refuse twenty miles square and a foot thick; and we need not be surprised if we find this class of pottery so commonly among the remains of the Roman period.*

The predominating colour of this pottery is a blue-black, exactly similar to that of the Durobrivian pottery, and imparted by the process of suffocating the vessels with the smoke of



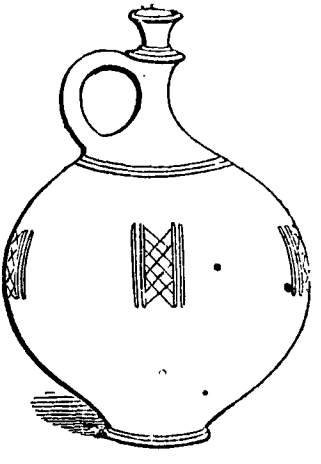
Examples of Upchurch Pottery unornamented.

vegetable substances in the kilns to which Mr. Artis gave the name of smother-kilns. The varieties of shape are extremely

* A visit to the Upchurch marshes, with a description of the locality and pottery found there, forms one of the chapters of my *Wanderings of an Antiquary*, 8vo., 1854, pp. 162—171. An excellent paper on the same subject, by Mr. Roach Smith, from whom I have borrowed largely, will be found in the Journal of the British Archæological Association, vol. ii. p. 123. See also *The Celt, the Roman, and the Saxon*, p. 212.

numerous and equally varied, and they seem to have been designed for almost every possible purpose. They are all elegant in their forms, which an experienced eye recognizes at once as purely Roman. A few examples are given in the foregoing cut of the commoner and less ornamented types.

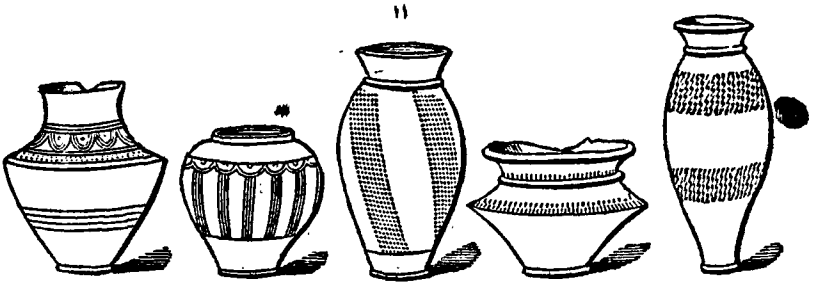
Besides the blue-black vases, many fragments have been found of a red ware, made of the same kind of clay, but subjected to a stronger degree of heat in the burning, which had the effect of destroying the black and imparting a red colour in its place. This variety of the ware has been found chiefly in Otterham creek and its immediate neighbourhood. It was used especially in the manufacture of vessels having the form of an amphora, with narrow mouths, and handles, two examples of which are given in the preceding group. The accompanying cut represents a remarkably interesting example of a vessel of



Vessel of Upchurch Ware

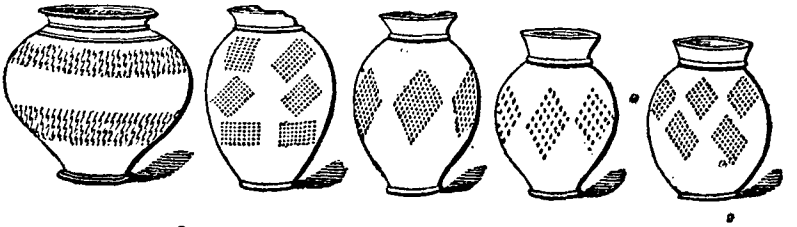
this form met with in the railway excavations some years ago at Chichester, and supposed to have been manufactured in the Upchurch potteries. It is of a dark clay, with the ornamental patterns in white, and is seven inches in height. Fragments of vessels of the same form, of the Upchurch ware, have been found at Wroxeter.

Our next cut represents a group of vessels in the ornamented ware made at Upchurch, the forms of which are equally characteristic. The ornament sometimes consists of bands of



Ornamented Pottery manufactured at Upchurch.

half-circles, made with compasses; and in many instances lines are drawn from these half-circles down to the bottom of the vessel. Other vessels exhibit various patterns of wavy, intersecting, and zigzag lines. An example of the wavy lines is given to the right of our cut, and in another in the first example in our next group. Another kind of ornament consisted of raised points, sometimes forming bands round the vessel, at others grouped into squares, diamond patterns, and circles. Some of these are shewn in our next group of vessels from the potteries at Upchurch. Another favourite pattern consisted of straight lines intersecting so as to form a bed of



Ornamented Ware from the Upchurch Potteries.

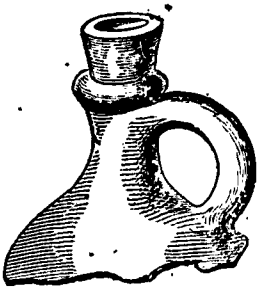
diamonds. Numerous fragments of this pottery have been found at Wroxeter, and some will be found in the Museum.

I have to remark further on this subject, that we have as yet no clue to the name which this locality bore in Roman times.

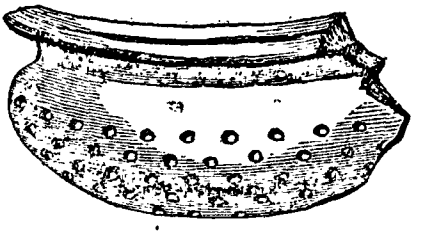
Yet it must have been a place of great celebrity, and well known for its pottery over the whole of Britain. Moreover, large quantities of a ware so like it that we can hardly doubt its identity have been found amongst the Roman remains at Boulogne; so that we are justified in assuming that there was a considerable export of this pottery also into Gaul.

We have by no means exhausted the varieties of Roman pottery found at Wroxeter, but most of those I have not described are less important and doubtful as to the place in which they were made. But two classes of pottery of the Roman period have been discovered here which are apparently new, and which are of greater importance to us as belonging, we believe, to our own locality. One of these is a white ware, which experiments made by my friend Dr. Henry Johnson, of Shrewsbury, have proved, beyond doubt, to be formed of what is now known as the Broseley clay. Broseley is well known as a town on the banks of the river Severn, a few miles below Shrewsbury, and its clay in modern times has been employed chiefly for the manufacture of tobacco-pipes. The pottery I am alluding to is of rather coarse texture, but the vessels formed of it display the same elegance of form by which all the Roman pottery is distinguished. The greater number of the vessels made of this ware are tastefully formed jugs, and dishes made for the same culinary purposes as our modern mortars, and called by the Romans *mortaria*. The internal surface of these latter is covered with small grains of flint, or other very hard stone, which aided in the process of triturition. None of the vessels of either of these classes have yet been found whole, but fragments of the same vessel are met with in sufficient numbers to enable us to restore these forms. Rather numerous fragments have also been found of bowls of this ware, painted with stripes of red and yellow. Perhaps the potteries in which this ware was made will one day be discovered, and it is not improbable that they may have been located in Uriconium itself.

The other Romano-Salopian pottery found at Wroxeter is a red ware, differing in tint from most of the Roman red wares before known, and of a finer texture than the white ware just described. It is also made from one of the clays of the Severn Valley. Among the vessels formed of this ware are jugs, not unlike the white-ware jugs in shape, but distinguished by some peculiarity of form in the neck and mouth. A fragment of one of these vessels is given in the accompanying cut to the left. The next cut to the right represents one of the several



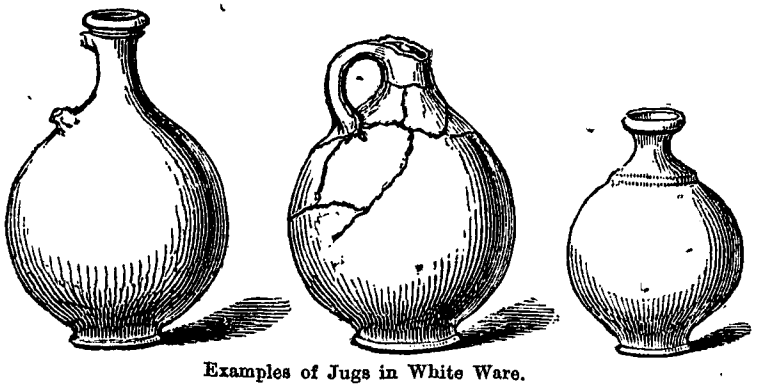
Romano-Salopian Ware from Wroxeter.



Cullender of Romano-Salopian Ware.

similar vessels made of this ware found in the excavations, which are pierced with small holes, and have evidently served the purpose of cullenders. The pottery of both these wares seems to have been in very common use in ancient Uriconium.

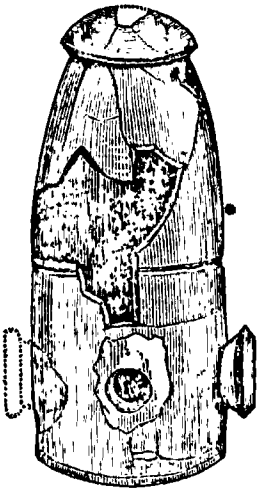
The three examples here given are rather common types of



Examples of Jugs in White Ware.

jug-formed vessels in this white ware which are met with frequently on Roman sites in this island. The two first are

each of them seven inches and a quarter high; the other, five inches. It is only necessary to call attention to one other example of the pottery found at Wroxeter, and now preserved in the Museum at Shrewsbury, and that on account of its singular shape. This vessel—which was broken into fragments, but most of the pieces found lying together, and have been carefully joined—is represented in our cut, which will give a far better notion of it than any verbal description.



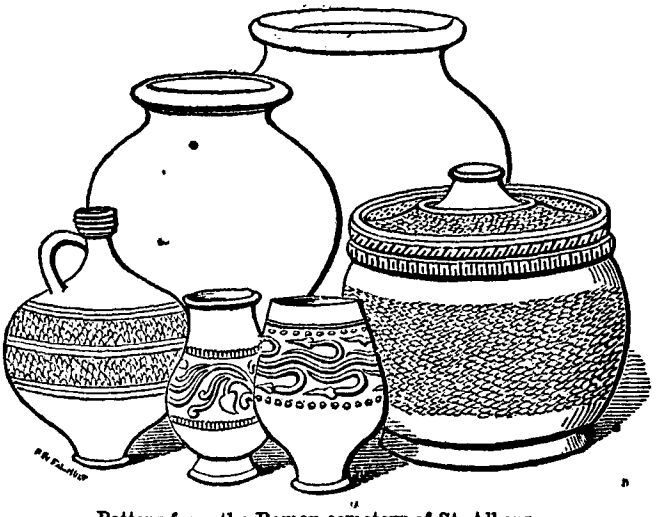
Vessel in Earthenware, from Uriconium

It appears to have had a second button-formed handle on the left side as seen in the cut, and some sort of mouth has been attached to the circular hole in front, which, it may be added, is the only opening into the interior of the vessel.

From the description already given, the reader will, without difficulty, form a picture of the character of the pottery used at table by the inhabitants of Roman Uriconium, as well as of that which served the purposes of the kitchen. The variety of the different wares is quite remarkable, and it will not be beside our purpose if we present a few groups showing how this variety prevailed all over the island; and in whatever part of it we trace a Roman site of any extent, we usually find there examples of nearly all the different wares employed in Britain, however distant it may be from the locality of the potteries in which the different varieties were made. This reveals to us a regular and perfect system of communication between different parts of Britain during the Roman period which requires evidence of this description to be understood.

The pottery we find on the site of a Roman town, or of a Roman villa, had no doubt been collected during a long period of years, and we should not be justified in assuming that any

number of particular examples found in the same place had been in use at the same time; but there are other circumstances under which the pottery is met with which are in this respect of a more satisfactory nature. The Romans buried pottery with their dead, (a practice of which I shall have to say more in a subsequent chapter), not only sepulchral urns, but vessels of almost every description, many which no doubt contained fluids of different kinds placed as affectionate oblations in the grave, and others had been used as receptacles for the cinders of the deceased. These vessels, of course, were all contemporary, and in use not only at the same time, but in the same family, and a single grave sometimes contains a considerable number. Two or three examples of such "finds" will hardly be uninteresting. It is well known that the abbey church of St. Albans occupies a part of the extensive cemetery of the Roman city of Verulamium. Some twenty years ago, in digging in a meadow near the



Pottery from the Roman cemetery of St. Albans.

church, the labourers came upon an interment from which were taken about a dozen earthen vessels, half of them of a rather common description, but among them were those represented in the accompanying cut. The two in front, I need hardly state, are good examples of the Durobrivian ware,

with the scroll ornament. The two others, one of which has a cover, are ornamented with a pattern which antiquariest term "engine-turned," and which has been found by Mr. Artis in the potteries of Durobrivæ. The two large vessels in the background are ordinary burial urns, the largest ten inches and a half high. About the same time as that of the discovery just mentioned, a sepulchral interment of the Roman period was found near the town of Billericay in Essex, which produced a considerable number of examples of pottery, the most interesting of which are represented in our next cut. In this the

Pottery from a Roman Cemetery at Billericay in Essex.

three small vessels grouped in front are Samian ware of the commoner and less ornamented description, one being quite plain, and the two others only ornamented with the ivy leaf. The fragment to the right, representing a human face, belongs to a class of Roman pottery which is of extreme rarity. The broken vessel behind it, and the one to the extreme left, are Upchurch ware. That in the middle is an example of the Durobrivian indented ornamentation. The two large urns behind are again sepulchral. Examples of Samian ware exactly resembling these have been found at Wroxeter.*

A Roman road crossed the river Lea in the parish of Poplar

* Both these groups of pottery discovered in sepulchral interments are taken from the Journal of the British Archæological Association, vol. iii. pp. 250 and 331.

in Middlesex, at a spot which is called the Old Ford, where there was no doubt some sort of a Roman settlement, and close to it was discovered some years ago a Roman burial place. From it were taken the examples of pottery represented in the accompanying cut.* We have here an example of the Upchurch pottery in the vessel in front, which is of dark clay, with white ornament. It is three inches in height. The vessel

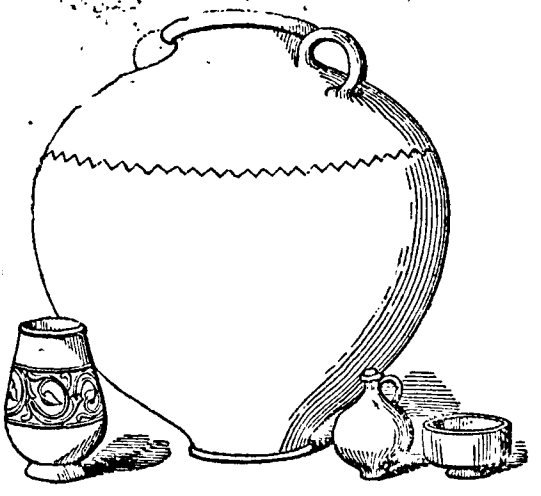
Roman Pottery from Sepulchral interment at Poplar in Middlesex.

to the extreme left, ornamented with circles, is also of dark clay, seven inches in height. The jug, with the mouth moulded into the form of a human face, of which examples are found not very commonly, is of a light red colour. Behind it is a burial urn, with a lid, eight and a half inches high, and made of black clay. The large jug-shaped vessel standing beside it is ten inches in height, and the bowl in front of it, five inches, both of yellow pottery.

I will add one other example of the varieties of pottery found in the Roman sepulchral deposits. They were taken from a burial place discovered in the Hoo Marshes, on the banks of the Medway, in Kent. The largest vessel is an example of one form of the amphora, or vessel for holding wine; it is eighteen inches and a half in height, and seventeen inches in diameter, and has lost one of its handles. It had

* Taken from the Journal of the British Archæological Association, vol. iv. p. 393.

been used for the purpose of a burial urn, and the cup of Samian ware to the right of our cut had been placed in its mouth, and was found lodged in the neck. This cup was two inches and a half in height, and four inches in diameter. The small bottle-shaped vessel was found close by the side of

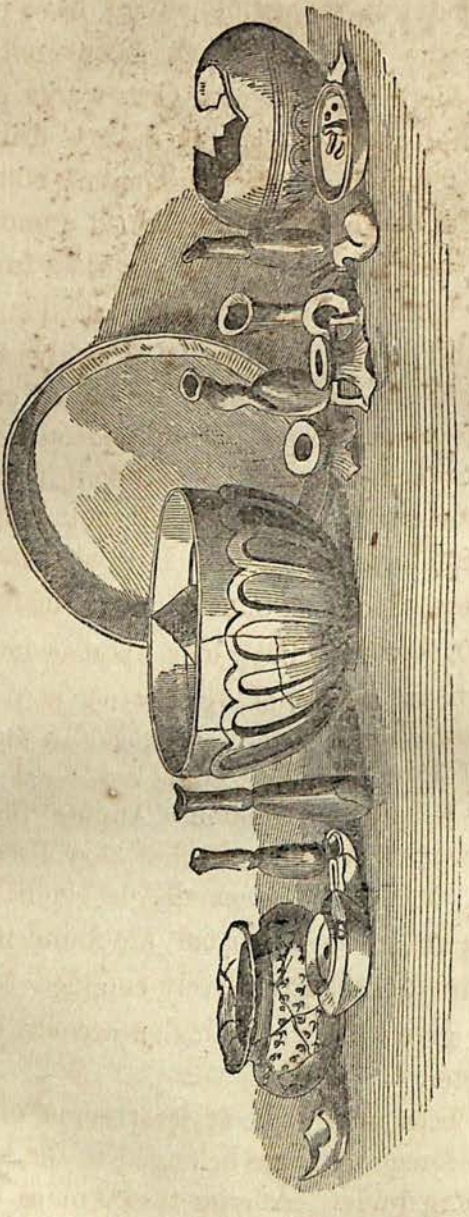


Pottery from the Hoo Marshes.

the large urn. The vessel to the left, which is four inches and three quarters in height, is a good specimen of Durobrivian ware. Another urn found in the same burial place, contained a dish of Samian ware nine inches in diameter, and a glazed vessel three inches and a half in height, the ornamentation of which had been scratched on the glaze.

The cemetery of Uriconium has furnished us with a considerable quantity of objects not only in pottery, but of glass. Some examples of both are given in the cut on the next page. All the objects represented in it are drawn on a scale of three inches to a foot. The large flat dish at the back is made of the light red ware found rather plentifully among the Roman ruins at Wroxeter, which appears to have been manufactured in the district. The fractured vessel to the right has been a very handsome bowl of Samian ware. The vessel to the

extreme left furnishes an example of a much more uncommon ware; it is small and slightly made, three inches and a half high, and of a lemon-yellow drab colour, and ornamented with rows of small knobs.



Roman Pottery and Glass Vessels from the Cemetery at Uriconium.

No object in the Museum at Shrewsbury is more worthy of

remark than the great variety of Roman glass, which is usually of fine manufacture, and some of it could not be excelled at the present day. There appears no reason to doubt that glass, as well as pottery, was manufactured in our island under the Romans, but the sites of the manufactories have not yet been traced, though some facts have been discovered, leading us to suspect that there were Roman glass works on the coast of Sussex.* Unfortunately, glass is a very brittle material, and it is mostly found in a very fragmentary state, except in sepulchral interments, where it has remained unmoved and protected. Such is the case mostly with the glass from Wroxeter. The Roman glass found in Britain is very varied and often beautiful in colour, and in many cases it is richly adorned with ornament in relief. It consists most largely of cups and jug-shaped vessels of various forms. The handsome glass bowl in the middle of our last cut, which was taken from one of the graves in the cemetery of Uriconium, presents a type which is by no means uncommon in Britain. It is what is called pillar-moulded, a process which our practical glass manufacturers, as we learn from Mr. Apsley Pellatt, look upon as one of the great modern inventions in glass-making, yet we here discover that it was well known and largely practised in Britain in the remote period of Roman rule. The glass bowl in our cut is five inches and a half in diameter. Among the glass from Wroxeter are several fragments of what have been very handsome jugs and bottles. The small glass phials, of which several examples are given in our cut, are found in great numbers, but they are almost exclusively confined to the burial-places. I shall give a more particular account of them in a subsequent chapter.

It will have been seen that at least some of the pottery described in the foregoing pages belonged to the kitchen rather than to the dining table. Among these, many fragments of

* On this subject, see my book, "The Celt, the Roman, and the Saxon," p. 229.

which have been found in the course of the excavations, two are remarkable for several reasons. One of these classes of kitchen utensils is a cullender, or strainer, of earthenware, the bottom of which is pierced with a great number of small holes. An example of these cullenders has already been given in p. 252. The other object to which we allude is the *mortarium*, or mortar, a strong basin-shaped vessel, used no doubt for pounding various objects used in cookery. It is usually made of a light coloured pottery, and the surface of the interior is studded with diminutive fragments of silicious stone and other hard materials, designed, no doubt, to assist in the process of pounding. Fragments of these *mortaria*, from Wroxeter, will be found in the Museum at Shrewsbury. They are very common in most of the Roman sites in Britain, and on the continent. Another vessel belonging to this class, is the *amphora*, or vessel used to hold wine. These were strongly made, generally of a light coloured pottery, and of considerable dimensions. The commoner form was a long slender shaped vessel; the other is much more spherical, and more capacious. Both are pointed at the bottom, for the purpose, it is said, of affixing them in the ground. Their forms are so well known that it is hardly necessary to give pictures of them here. Fragments of these *amphoræ* are found in abundance in digging on the site of Uriconium; and they are plentiful wherever we explore the sites of Roman towns or country houses in our islands. This circumstance leaves no room for doubt that the use of wine was very general and extensive in Roman Britain.

The abundance of the *mortaria* and earthenware strainers is also a curious fact illustrative of one part of the character of domestic life among the Romano-Britons. People are accustomed to suppose that in these remote ages the diet was simple and plain, and that it consisted chiefly of joints or pieces of flesh meat boiled or roasted. The presence of these cookery

vessels in such large numbers, lead us to the conclusion, that, on the contrary, the inhabitants of this country, in the Roman period, indulged very extensively in the use of made dishes, and the epicurism of the table, which prevailed to such an extravagant extent in Italy and Gaul, had no doubt found its way into our island. The subject of the diet of the Romans in Britain receives illustration from another class of relics which are found in great abundance, the bones of animals and birds, and the shells of molluscs, and even the bones of some fishes. An immense quantity of these articles have been collected at Wroxeter, and are carefully preserved, but hitherto they have not undergone that careful examination they require. It is evident that the Roman inhabitants of Uriconium and its neighbourhood indulged greatly in the pleasures of the chase, and that there were in this part of the country kinds of wild beasts which have long ceased to exist in England. Among these were the wild boar, the elk, and several varieties of the deer, one at least of which is stated to be extinct. The varieties of animal bones found in the course of the excavations are also extremely numerous, and contain some extinct varieties. Foremost among these is the *bos longifrons*, a very large variety of ox, which is now claimed as belonging to the domain of the geologist. Yet we have here the evidence that they existed abundantly during the Roman period, in the numerous examples of their massive skulls, with the large long foreheads, from which they take their scientific name, and of their thighs and other bones. That they were a common article of food there can be no doubt, for in some cases the forehead of the skull is broken in by the blow of the axe with which the Uriconian butcher slew it for the market. There is said also to have been traced among these bones, remains of an extinct variety of the sheep. The varieties of birds, the bones of which have been met with in the excavations, are quite as numerous as those of animals,

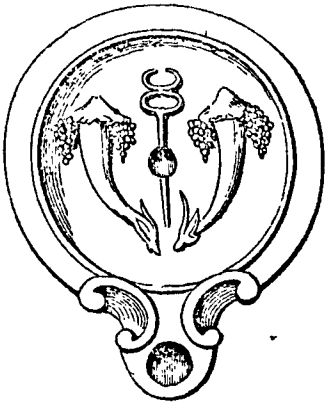
and equally interesting to the naturalist who will undertake the examination of them.* Among the domestic fowls, the remains of which were thus brought to light, I must not omit mentioning that rather numerous legs of the fighting cock were found, with remarkably large natural spurs, which would seem to show that cock-fighting was a favourite amusement among the inhabitants of this ancient city. Among the shells are those of the oyster in abundance, as well as those of whelks, cockles, muscles, and others.

Among the group represented in our last cut are two other objects of earthenware, or terra-cotta, which are found in Roman sites in great abundance. These are lamps, and they introduce us to another part of the economy of the interior of the house, that of lighting it. The Roman writer Apuleius, in describing the operations of a party of robbers in a house they were plundering, and the effect of an accident which roused the people of the house, says that the latter assembled "with *tædæ* (torches), *lucernæ* (lamps), *cerei* (wax tapers), *sebaceï* (candles of tallow), and the other instruments of nocturnal light."* We have here a distinct enumeration of the four ordinary means of producing a portable light—torches, lamps, candles of wax, and candles of tallow. Of the first of these we can of course expect to find no remains among the objects met with in our excavations.

As I have already stated, terra-cotta lamps are found in considerable numbers, and, in fact, when used to give light to a room, it would require a considerable number of them to light it sufficiently. Their general form is nearly uniform. The body of the lamp is usually circular, from two inches and a half to three inches in diameter, with a small handle on one side, and a spout with a hole for the wick on the other. A hole, or sometimes two or even three holes, in the circular face allowed

* Nec mora, cum numerosæ familiæ frequentia domus tota completur, tædis, lucernis, cereis, sebaceis, et cæteris nocturni luminis instrumentis clarescunt tenebræ. *Apuleii Metamorphaseon, lib.* iv. *p.* 281, ed. Odendorf, 4to, Lug. Bat. 1786.

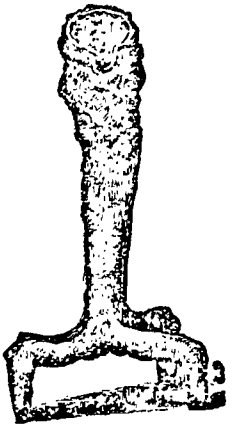
the air to pass, and the spout was sometimes double or treble, to admit two or three separate wicks. This circular surface, or field, although sometimes plain, was usually ornamented with pictures in relief resembling those on the Samian ware, but still more varied in their description. This description will be better understood by the accompanying cut of a terra-cotta lamp found at Colchester, which is here drawn on a scale of



Terra-cotta Lamp, from Colchester.

one half the actual size. It has in its field the representation of a caduceus between two cornucopias, which latter terminate in heads of animals. The three represented in our plate were found at Wroxeter, and are preserved in the Museum. The first has in the field a figure of a dolphin; the second, the head of Hercules, enveloped in the skin of the Nemean lion; the third, a man in a kneeling posture. The lamp was sometimes made of bronze, or other metal, and then it often assumed more fantastic forms, and is sometimes found with a chain attached for suspension. But these bronze lamps are comparatively rare. When employed for domestic purposes, the lamp was placed on a candelabrum, or small disc, raised on a shaft. Two leaden stands, with handles, for carrying lamps about, were found in York, the Roman *Eburacum*.

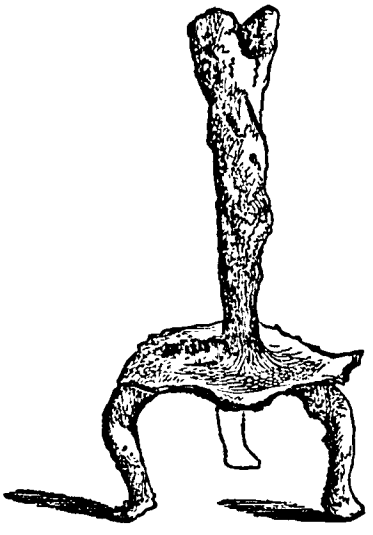
In the earlier part of our excavations at Wroxeter, we found a rather singular object, which is represented in the accompanying cut. The notion of its being a candlestick, or of its being like one, struck me for a moment; but nobody had seen a Roman candlestick like it before, and it was found under some circumstances which seemed to contradict this supposition. It lay on the floor of the Basilica, and not far from a piece of strong chain, which might have served for the purpose of chaining prisoners, and hence the prevailing opinion seemed to be that it had been fixed by its socket on the head of a staff, and that it had thus perhaps formed one of the insignia of public office. Nothing further was thought of it till last year, when my friend Mr. Roach Smith gave in the Gentleman's Magazine for March, (1867), an account of a similar object preserved in the Museum of Andover in Hampshire, and found among other objects on the site of a Roman villa at Abbot's Ann in that neighbourhood, which he judged to be a candlestick. The Andover relic is represented in the cut on the next page, and a comparison of it with that found at Wroxeter will be sufficient to show that they are identical in the objects for which they were made.



Candlestick from Wroxeter.

Mr. Roach Smith is right, and no doubt these objects are candlesticks. Another example has since been found at Wroxeter, so that now there are two preserved in the Museum at Shrewsbury. The second is somewhat more mutilated. The Andover example had, like those from Wroxeter, three legs, but one of them has been broken off. The socket appears as shown in the cut on the next page, a hollow notch, not circular, but open on two sides. It is five inches high. The Wroxeter candlestick is, like that in the Museum at Andover, made of

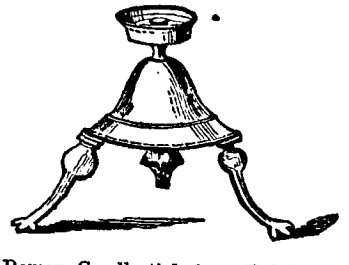
iron, and differs little in size, being four inches and three quarters high, instead of five inches. The diameter of the



Roman Candlestick from Hampshire.

socket, which is ferule-formed, is about an inch, and the legs are splayed two inches apart.

In the same communication to the Gentleman's Magazine, Mr. Roach Smith has described another example of the Roman candlestick, in this case made of copper. It was "discovered in Belgium on the site of a Roman villa, at Petit Fresin, and published in a very recent *Bulletin* of the *Commissions Royales d'Art et d'Archéologie* of Belgium, from which the wood-cut here given has been copied. The size is not given. It is called a three-footed *candelabrum* similar to another from the *Dry Tommes* of Fresin, and the material copper plated with tin, or silver, rather, as a further examination seems to decide. M. Schuerman remarks that every doubt on the destination of this object to the purpose



Roman Candlestick from Belgium.

of a candlestick is removed by this specimen, which retains almost intact the point to which the *candela* was fixed; the engraving, however, from which the cut is copied, does not show a sharp point."

The point for fixing the candle was probably intended for a wax candle *(cereus)*; but I am able to add to this curious example of the ordinary Roman candlestick, the discovery, within the limits of our county, of Roman candles, and those of tallow, the humbler class of the means of furnishing light enumerated by Apuleius. Juvenal marks strongly the distinction of the rich man with his "ænea lampas," and the poor man, who is satisfied with his candle, and arranges and moderates its wick so as to economize it :—

> Me, quam luna solet deducere, vel breve lumen
> Candelæ, cujus dispenso et tempero filum,
> Contempnit. *Juvenal, Sat.* iii. 286.

The remains of the Roman lead-mines on Shelve Hill, the property of Mr. More, of Linley Hall, have been described in a former part of this volume,* and I have stated how the modern cuttings cross or open into the ancient works. A few years ago, the miners, in crossing unexpectedly into one of the old Roman galleries, found candles, which have every appearance of being coeval with the period when those mines were worked. The ignorant men carried them home to their cottages; and after trying in vain first to light them, and afterwards to make them useful in greasing their boots, threw them away as worthless. Mr. More had heard of these discoveries too late to recover the curious objects thus brought to light, but he subsequently succeeded in obtaining other specimens; two of which are now in his possession, one of which is represented in the annexed cut. As will be seen, it bears a close resemblance to a modern tallow candle; and we can hardly doubt, from an examination, that the material of

* See before, pp. 49—52.

which they were made was originally tallow, but it has undergone the change into adipocere, which frequently takes place in fatty substances during exposure for a very long time to certain atmospheric actions, and by which it has become

Roman Candle from Lead Mine at Shelve.

extremely hard and almost chalky in its character. The wicks appear to be of flax. Pliny (Hist. Nat. lib. xvi. c. 70), tells us that the pith of a kind of rush was commonly used for making wicks to candles. It has been supposed that these candles were not made like our dips, but that they were formed by *rolling* a sheet of tallow or wax round the wick, from the circumstance that there appears upon the side of each of Mr. More's examples (which are carefully preserved at Linley Hall) the appearance of a slight indentation as though marking the extremity of the sheet where it joined with the rest of the material in folding round. We know, however, from the ancient writers that the substance with which the Romans made their ordinary candles was *sebum*, or tallow, and that their phrase for making a candle was *sebare candelam*, meaning literally to smear it with tallow. Columella* enumerates among the works which the rustic population might lawfully do on the *feriæ*, or holidays, during which all agricultural labours were forbidden, the making of the two implements necessary for furnishing lights under different circumstances, torches and candles, which he expresses by the words *faces incidere*, *candelas sebare*. The very form of the phrase seems to imply that the candle was made in the same manner as at present, by dipping in the melted tallow; and a fracture in the side of one of Mr. More's examples, the one here engraved, reveals an inner core, which would arise from its being formed by two successive dippings in the melted tallow.

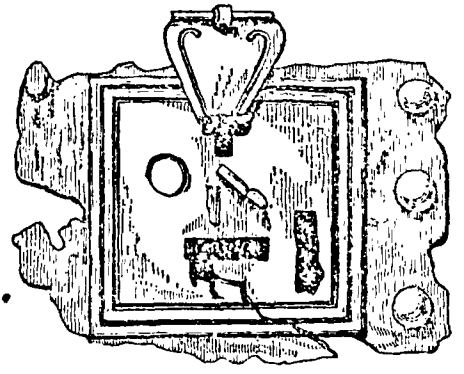
* *De Re Rustica*, lib. ii. c. 21.

We could hardly expect to find among the ruins of the Roman buildings in Britain any objects which would throw light on the manner in which the interior of the house was furnished during the Roman period, and we can only assume that in this, as in almost every thing else, every article was identical with, or closely imitated from, that which existed in Italy. Most of the articles of domestic furniture in the houses of Uriconium, were probably made of more or less perishable materials, and, where this was not the case, they were objects which would naturally enough attract the attention of the plunderers, and would be carried away in the sack of the town. The ordinary articles of domestic furniture, which were probably far from abundant in the Romano-British houses, were, no doubt very rare, and greatly valued among the barbarian invaders, and a chair, or a table, or a bed or couch, or any object of that kind, especially if they were adorned or strengthened with metal, would appear in their eyes far too good to be left behind.

One class of objects, however, or rather of part of an object, connected with the domestic economy of the Romans in Britain, is not at all uncommon, that is, keys and locks. Of these, several interesting samples have been found in the course of the excavations at Wroxeter. The keys are much more numerous than the locks, for the very evident reason that door-keys and keys for many other local purposes could be of no use to the invaders, and that the invaders, doubtless, seldom found the keys attached to the locks of boxes and coffers, which, in regard to their contents, they thought worth carrying away. Those to whom they belonged no doubt carried them on their persons. Some of the smaller Roman keys have a ring, in such a position as to show that they were intended to be carried on the finger.

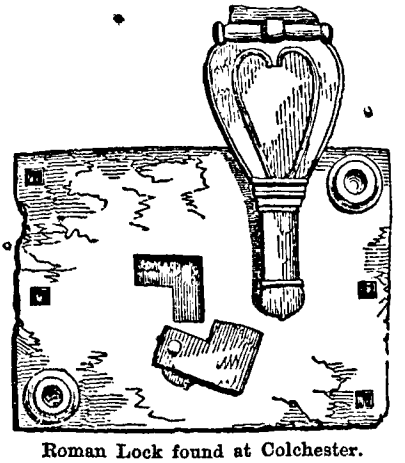
The only perfect lock which has as yet been yielded by our excavations at Wroxeter, was found in a grave in the

cemetery. The contents of the coffer to which it belongs have been described on a former occasion;* it belonged, no doubt, to a Roman surgeon. This lock, which was the only part of the coffer, or box, preserved, is represented in the accompanying engraving. Some of the wood to which it was fixed



Roman Lock of a Coffer, from the Cemetery at Uriconium.

remained attached to it, showing the material of which the box had been made. The dimensions of the plate of this lock are three and three quarter inches by two and three quarters. The works of this lock, and the key by which it was opened, seem to have been of very simple construction. A lock



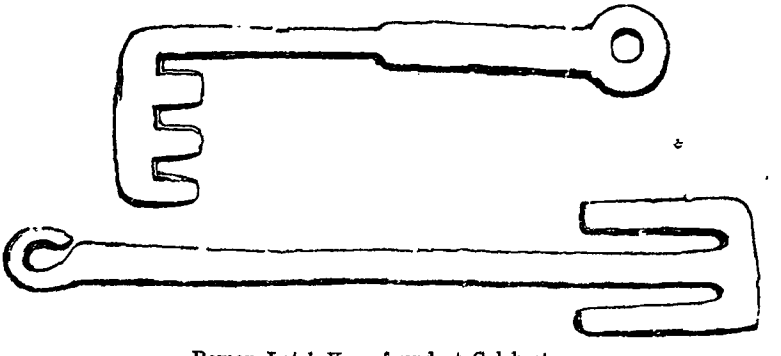
Roman Lock found at Colchester.

very similar to it was found at Colchester, also in a Roman sepulchral interment, and is represented here for the sake

* See page 165 of the present volume.

of comparison. In this case the lock is of bronze, and measures four inches by two and three quarters. The hasps of the two locks are exactly similar; the end of the Wroxeter example is unfortunately broken off; and in both cases the key-hole had a protecting cover. Other locks, of exactly the same design, have been found on Roman sites in our island, and almost always in cemeteries, and they appear to have belonged to wooden boxes in which the funeral offerings were deposited, and where they have remained undisturbed till they have been brought to light by the antiquarian researches of modern times.

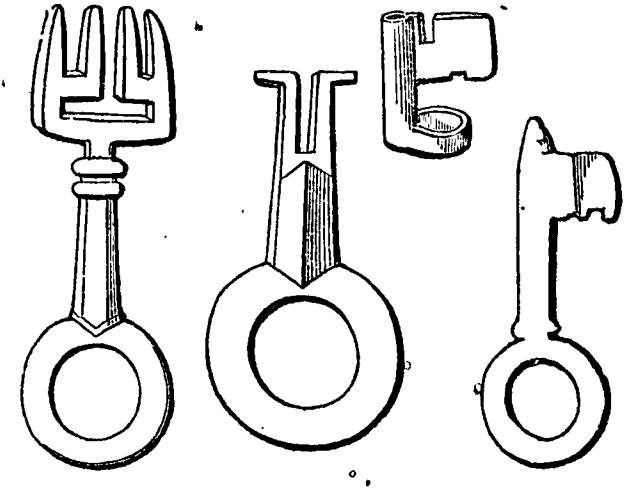
The lock, among the Romans in earlier times, was merely a latch inside, and this simple kind of fastening appears to have been in very common use down to a late period. The key was a common latch-key, which was thrust through a hole from the outside, and lifted up or turned, so as to raise the latch. The two represented in the accompanying cut, found in the same locality and at the same time with the bronze lock above described, both of iron, and the one eight inches in length, the other five inches and a half, are by no means uncommon types. Two keys closely resembling these were found in the course of the excavations at Wroxeter, and are deposited in the Museum. They present all the characteristics of such latch-keys as I am describing. They



Roman Latch-Keys found at Colchester.

could hardly be used in any other way than by lifting up

to raise a latch. One has an eye, and the other a hook, at the extremity of the handle, no doubt for hanging it, probably to the girdle. This is also supposed to be generally the use of the rings in which most of the handles of Roman keys found in this country terminate. These are shown in the group of keys given in our next cut, all found in 1848, at Coville Manor, near White Rothing, and here reproduced from the Journal of the Archæological Association for that year. They show us a few of the forms, extremely varied, and sometimes very singular, and even grotesque, of the Roman keys found in Britain. Two of them have evidently been used as latch-keys. The small example bears some resemblance to the finger keys, except that in the latter the ring was larger, and

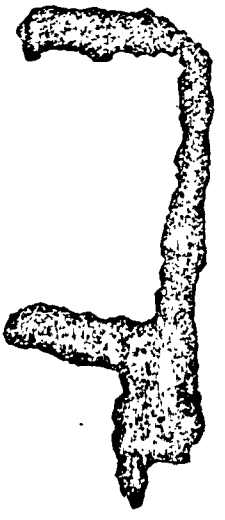


Roman Keys.

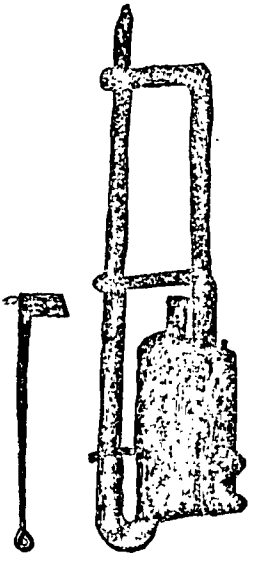
usually placed so that the key lay flat along the side of the finger. An example of a finger key will be found in the Museum at Shrewsbury.

The Roman keys hitherto found at Wroxeter are not numerous, but in the earlier period of our excavations there occurred one or two examples of an object, made of iron which is represented in the cut to the left. The cross bars have holes

at the ends, which were evidently intended for the passage of a rod. The use of this object seemed at first very problematical,



Part of a Roman Padlock from Wroxeter.



A Roman Lock from Chesterford in Essex.

but it was suggested that it might have belonged to some description of fastening implement, which would come under the general term of a lock. Subsequently two examples of the complete padlock were found with a great number of other implements in iron by the late Lord Braybrooke, then the Hon. R. C. Neville, in excavations made under his directions at Chesterford, Essex, and they are preserved in his Museum at Audley End. One of these, with its key, is represented in the above engraving to the right. It will be seen at once that this curious padlock solves the whole mystery of the fragment of iron found at Wroxeter, for the latter evidently represents the upper part of the bar on the right hand which enters the box of the lock, and which slides along the rod attached to the latter. This bar terminates in a bolt, which has a strong spring of steel starting back from its point.

To lock it, this bar is thrust through a hole at the end of the box of the lock, which presses the spring close to its side until it has passed the hole into the interior, and the spring collapses, and renders its withdrawal impossible. The whole is then hung by the end which is here placed downwards, to the staple of the door or other object which is to be fastened. To open it, the key, which is here represented from the example found at Chesterford, is inserted through a hole at the other end of the box, and embraces the end of the bar and, being pushed forward with sufficient force, presses the spring against it as it proceeds, until it reaches the other end, and then the spring is brought so close to the bar that it may be withdrawn, and the lock is opened.

I will only add that I possess a padlock, a little different in form, but exactly of the same construction and action as the one here described, given me by my friend Mr. R. E. Hodges, many years a resident in Hayti, and British Vice-Consul at Jacmel. It is probably at least a century old, and, as he believes, is either Spanish, or made in one of the Spanish colonies. It is an illustration of the persistence with which the Roman arts and forms of useful manufactures have been preserved in the Roman provinces long after modern ingenuity had invented implements in every way superior for the same purpose.

CHAPTER VII.

THE LADIES; OBJECTS OF THE TOILETTE, AND PERSONAL ORNAMENT; THE MALE SEX, ARMS AND ARMOUR.

THE more we collect and compare the relics of the Roman period found in different parts of our island, the more we become convinced that the population which then occupied it collectively as Romans, though known in other parts of the empire as Britons, and which consisted in reality of a mixture of almost all the races of mankind in the known world (as then known), had adopted Roman civilization without reserve. Their houses, their works of art, their vessels for table or for kitchen use of whatever material, their manufactures, their ornaments, are all purely Roman, and identical with the same objects as found in Italy and in other parts of the empire. There can be no doubt that they had also adopted the Roman costume, for, if we possess none of their articles of dress, we have a sufficient number of sculptures and other pictorial representations of men and women to make us fully acquainted with their general character and materials. As our modern ideas of fashions did not exist in those times, the costume appears to have been nearly uniform throughout at least the western empire and during the whole period of its existence; and the clothing of the wealthy and of those who were not wealthy differed almost only in the richness of the materials and in the number, beauty, and value of the personal ornaments. The materials of dress are especially perishable, and

hardly a fragment of them remains. Almost a unique exception is furnished by the shoes, a certain number of which have been found under peculiar circumstances. Mr. Roach Smith possessed, in his museum which has now been transferred to the British Museum, a number of Roman sandals. They were found with other objects, imbedded at a considerable depth in soil of a description which was impervious to the air, and which in other respects was especially favourable to their preservation. The upper leathers of these shoes were punched into ornamental open-work in very elegant patterns, and were looped to receive strings for drawing them tight together, and tying over the instep or across the leg. The soles, which were all right and left, were formed of four layers of leather, and were fastened together without stitching, by nails, which had large projecting heads. In some examples, and this was probably the common practice, the whole under-surface of the sole was covered with these nail heads.* The soles of the Roman shoes have been found elsewhere in our island, sometimes in sepulchral cists, and they are always covered with these large heads of nails, which indeed seem to have been their peculiar characteristic, for they are alluded to by the classical writers. Juvenal, describing the inequality existing between the people and the soldiers, and the partiality shown to the latter in the courts, and warning the former that by attempting to resist any of the military they would only expose themselves to so many more kicks, tells them that they have only two legs to expose to so many thousands of shoe-nails.—

> Signum erit ergo
> Declamatoris mulino corde Vagelli,
> Quum duo crura habeas, offendere tot caligas tot
> Millia clavorum. *Juvenal, Satir.* xiv, l. 22.

'I dwell longer upon this circumstance of the nails, because these shoe-nails of the Romans in Britain appear under other

* Several examples of these shoes are engraved in Mr. Roach Smith's "Illustrations of Roman London," pp. 131—135, with a full account of the circumstances under which they were found.

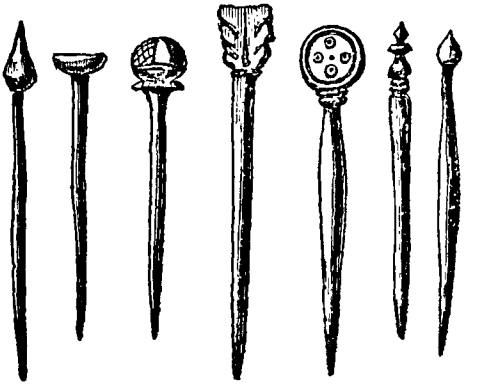
and rather curious circumstances. The structure of the Roman tiles has been already described.* In the process of making, they were not baked or burnt, but dried in the sun, and during the long period they were exposed to the air for this purpose, they appear to have been occasionally walked over not only by dogs, sheep, pigs, and other animals, but by man also, and, according to the softness of the clay, all these left the impressions of their feet more or less deeply marked in them. Roman tiles thus marked occur very frequently. The shoe-soles found impressed on the Roman tiles are always characterized by the large heads of nails just described. Some tiles marked with the impressions of men's feet have been already mentioned in the present volume † as found in the Roman villa at Acton Scott; and they have also been found at Wroxeter, and examples are preserved in the museum at Shrewsbury.

No remains of Roman dress of any kind have been yet discovered at Wroxeter, but the number of personal ornaments which have been met with at different times, and which may be seen in the museum, is very considerable. Among the most common of the personal ornaments, for they are all more or less ornamental, found at Wroxeter and on other Roman sites, are the hair pins. They were used especially for holding together the knot into which the Roman ladies rolled up their hair behind, and they usually swell out in the middle, and diminish again towards the head, which was no doubt intended to prevent the pins from slipping out of the knot of hair. The material of which they were made was usually bronze or bone, but they were not unfrequently made of silver, and sometimes of wood. Those made of the precious metals were much more richly ornamented than those of commoner materials; several hair-pins of silver have been found in Britain, and one, at least, had a

* See before page 187.

† See before p. 32 of the present volume.

diminutive statuette for its head. The heads of the bronze hair-pins are also frequently very elegant, sometimes worked into the form of human heads and busts. Those found at Wroxeter are of a common description, most of them of bone, with two or three of wood. A selection of them is given in the accompanying cut, in which they are drawn about half the size of the originals. Of course wooden hair-pins, under ordinary circumstances, would have perished long ago, but those found at Wroxeter had been perfectly saturated with oil, which was no doubt the cause of their preservation. We are justified in assuming from this circumstance that the inhabitants of Uriconium were in the habit of using oil upon their hair very profusely; and it helps to explain a brief epigram on a golden hair-pin *(acus aurea)* by Martial, in which we are told that the hair-pin was thrust through the ladies' locks, to hold them up, least, when damp (with oil of course), they would fall upon the dress of delicate silk and spoil it:—

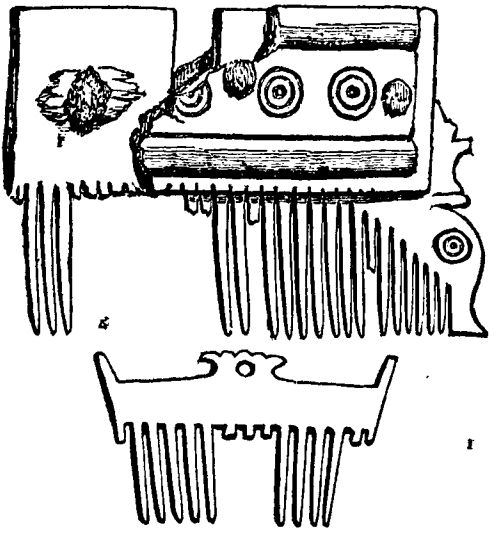


Roman Hair-pins found at Wroxeter.

> Tenuiâ ne madidi violent bombycina crines,
> Figat acus tortas sustineatque comas.
>
> *Martial, Ep. lib.* xiv. *ep.* 24.

It is pleasant to be thus able to illustrate and explain the language of the classical writers of Rome by objects dug up in our own county. At Wroxeter the hair-pins are found most abundantly in the public baths, where we might naturally suppose that the female bathers would have them with them for their toilette. Perhaps supplies were kept there for sale.

The Romans appear to have used the comb *(pecten)*, as we do, for the two different purposes of combing the hair, and of holding the hair in a form which has been artificially given to it. We learn from the ancient writers that the first of these was usually made of box-wood, and the use of this material was so general, that the name of the wood *(buxus)* was employed as a synonym for a comb. Wood is, of course, a perishable material, and we could hardly expect the wooden combs to be preserved to the present day. But examples have been found of more durable materials, such as bone and metals, both on the Continent and in Britain, and these are commonly made, as now, with a double row of teeth. The other class of combs were made of richer materials, and were more ornamental. Two combs found at Wroxeter, both made of bone, are represented in our cut, of the same



Roman Combs, found at Wroxeter.

size as the originals. The one above is only a portion of the original comb, which has been broken. It consisted of a plain piece, in which the teeth were cut, and on each side of which an ornamental piece of bone was fastened by means of iron rivets. The smaller comb is complete, except that it wants

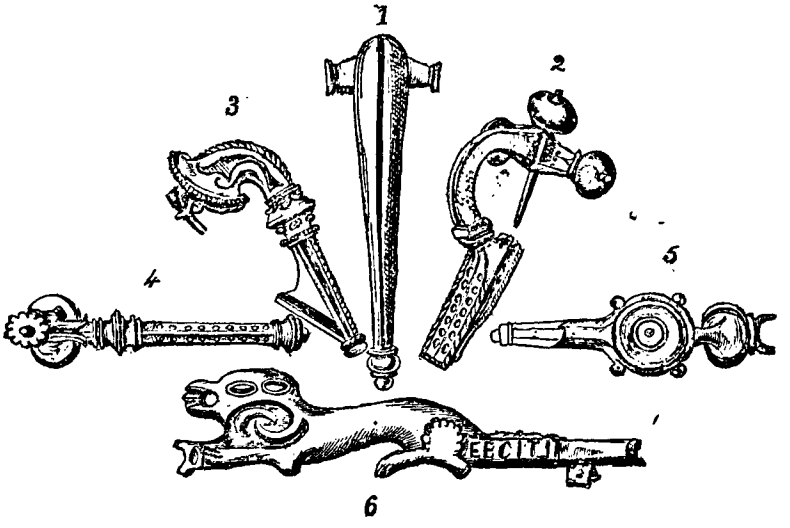
some of its teeth, and its form is by no means devoid of elegance. Among other objects connected with the toilette found commonly among Roman remains are small tweezers, usually of bronze, called in Latin *volsellæ*, which were no doubt employed in plucking superfluous hairs from the body.

In those ages when the modern system of varying fashions in the make of dress was unknown, and its form remained uniform, the costume of different ranks and individuals differing only in the richness and beauty of the materials, and the pride or wealth of an individual was shown in a great display of personal ornaments. The more precious of such ornaments would be objects of plunder to the barbarians who overran the Roman provinces in the later days of imperial rule, and are therefore now seldom found on Roman sites, except in sepulchral interments; but the commoner articles of this description are met with in abundance, as the museum at Shrewsbury will sufficiently testify. Among the most common of these are the brooches, or, as the Romans called them, *fibulæ*. The dress of the Roman of either sex, consisted in great part, not of close-fitting garments, but of pieces of cloth, ornamented with fringes, &c., which were wrapped round or over the body, and fastened with these fibulæ. Virgil introduces Dido wearing a purple vest fastened by a fibula of gold.

> Tandem progreditur, magna stipante caterva,
> Sidoniam picto chlamydem circumdata limbo;
> Cui pharetra ex auro, crines nodantur in aurum,
> Aurea purpuream subnectit fibula vestem.
>
> *Virgil. Æn.* iv. 136.

The fibulæ found on Roman sites in Britain are usually of bronze, but sometimes of silver, or even of gold. The bronze fibulæ were often, if not mostly, thickly gilt, so that to the eye they appeared like gold. They present two distinct classes, each uniform in its general shape, but differing considerably in detail. Our cut on the next page represents six examples of the first of these classes, which is usually termed bow-shaped, se-

lected from those found at Wroxeter, and will give a sufficient idea of their general character. They are all of bronze. No. 1, which is seen in front, is one of the least ornamented. No. 2 is rather a common form, but it appears to have been a favourite, for it has been found I believe more than once in England, of large dimensions, and made of solid pure gold. A large gold fibula of this type was found at Odiham in Hampshire, in 1844.

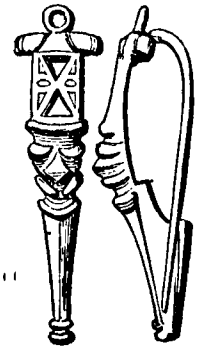


Roman Fibulæ from Wroxeter.

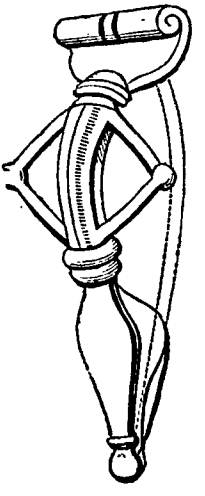
The ornamentation of this class of fibulæ is extremely varied, and it becomes often quite grotesque. Figs. 3 and 4 present examples of ornamental fibulæ selected from those found at Wroxeter; and fig. 6, from the same collection, is curiously grotesque. It presents the rude figure of a dog, and is probably of rather late workmanship, and the maker appears to have been so well satisfied with his work that he has stamped his name upon it, though the name itself disappeared.

The fibula was fastened into the dress by a pin on the back, which sometimes moved on a hinge, and sometimes acted as a spring. As this pin was more fragile than the fibula itself, and was sometimes made of iron or steel, it is often wanting in those found in the course of excavations, and this is the

case in the examples from Wroxeter given above. The fibula represented in the accompanying cut, found at Silchester in Hampshire (the Roman *Calleva*) is perfect, and it is shown both sideways and in front, in order to display its construction as well as its ornamentation. A fibula of rather a different character, but belonging to the same class I am describing, is shewn in the next cut. It was found among Roman remains at East Farleigh, near Maidstone in Kent, in



Roman Fibula from Silchester.

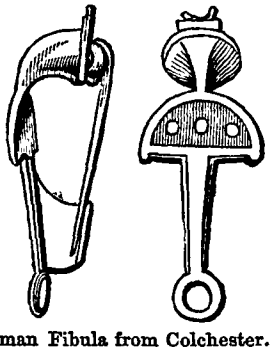


Roman Fibula from Kent.

1841. The metal of this fibula was an alloy of tin, which is of far less common occurrence than bronze.

One of the fibulæ in the preceding group from Wroxeter, which has not yet been described, presents another interesting feature in the character of the Romano-British personal ornaments. The circular face divided by rings, is enamelled. The art of enamel appears to have been introduced, with that of neillo, at a rather early period into the north of Gaul and Britain, and we are justified by the quantity of examples found among Roman remains in assuming that it was practised in our island to a considerable extent during the later Roman period. I have ventured to suppose that we have found in

Uriconium the workshop of a practiser of both these arts.* In the fibula from Wroxeter (fig. 5), the enamel is arranged in two concentric rings, with a centre, of which the latter is green, the inner ring blue, and the outer ring brown. The fibula represented in our next cut was found in the suburbs of Colchester, the Roman *Camulodunum*, on the side towards Lexden, and affords another very good perfect example of an ornament of this description. The semicircular space in front is set with green enamel.



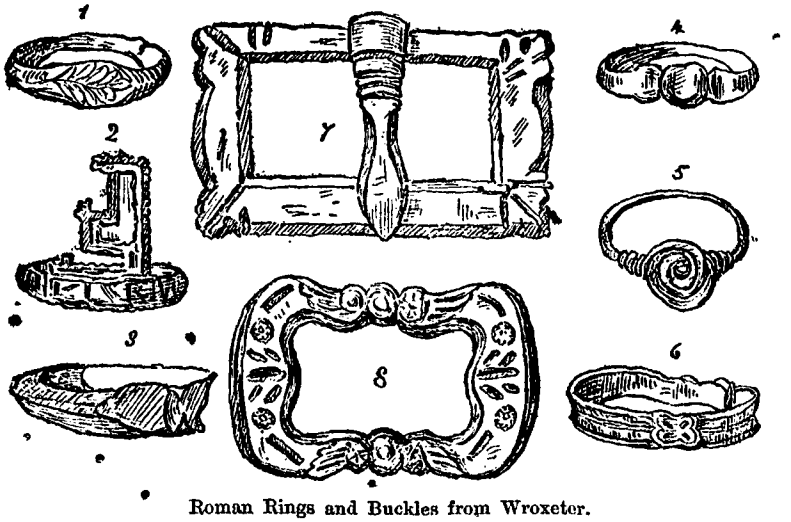
Roman Fibula from Colchester.

The second class of fibulæ spoken of before, which are of a perfectly circular form, are more frequently enamelled than the others, and are oftener made of the precious metals. The pin behind for fastening exactly resembles that of the other class. They are sometimes small, not much larger than a common button, but often of more considerable dimensions. The exact manner in which the fibulæ of the first class were used is not known with any great certainty, but they seem to have been employed more by females than by the other sex. In a Romano-Gallic sculptured monument found at Mayence (the Roman *Maguntiacum*), representing a Roman family of that city, the lady, who was evidently a "belle," appears to have at least two of these fibulæ on her breast. The circular fibulæ is seen more frequently on the figures in coins and sculptures, and one of its principal uses appears to have been to fasten the pallium on the shoulder. These were no doubt the larger and richer articles of this class. Two of the smaller round fibulæ found at Wroxeter are beautifully enamelled. One has a centre of enamelled ornament, alternately of scarlet and blue, surrounded by a circle of triangles filled with blue enamel. Studs and buttons are also found

* See page 163 of the present volume.

among the Roman remains of Britain, but the particular manner in which they were employed on the dress is not well known. They are like the circular fibulæ, sometimes perfectly flat, and at others convex. Several of these studs or buttons have been found at Wroxeter. A very elegant example of steel damaskeened was found in the room supposed to be an enameller's workshop. One of the buttons or studs found at Wroxeter is made of jet.

Another class of ornaments connected with the dress are the buckles, which of course were used for attaching girdles and belts. They are of sufficiently common occurrence among Roman remains in this country, and resemble closely in form the buckles of modern times. Two examples are shown in our next group of personal ornaments of the Roman period found at Wroxeter, figs. 7 and 8. They are both of bronze, offering nothing calling for particular remark in their ornamentation, but one wants the tongue.



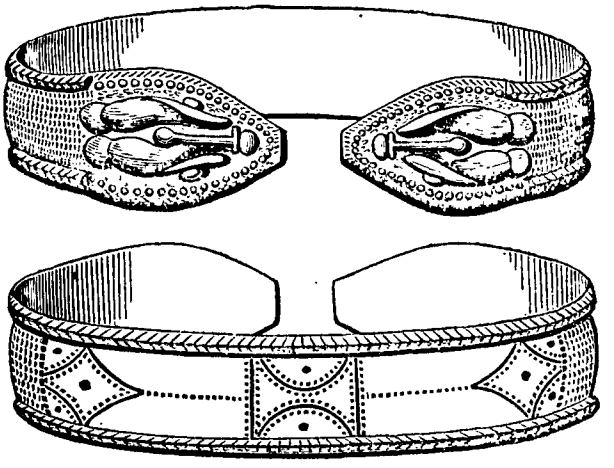
Roman Rings and Buckles from Wroxeter.

A few rings found in the excavations at Wroxeter are here grouped with the buckles. Finger rings appear to have been worn in great profusion among the Romans, and they are

found rather abundantly in excavations on Roman sites. They are often made of gold and silver, but their forms are so varied that it would be impossible to give a general description. Those found at Wroxeter are for the most part of a rather ordinary description. There is, in the Shrewsbury Museum, a fragment of one of jet; and at least one is of silver; it is represented in fig. 4 of our group. The rest are of bronze. I have stated before that small keys, no doubt belonging to coffers, were often attached to rings, that they might be carried on the hand; the key usually stands at right angles to the plane of the ring, so that it lay flat to the finger. Fig. 2, in the preceding group, represents one of these key-rings. Another example in the museum of Wroxeter antiquities at Shrewsbury is a plain ring made of twisted bronze and iron wire. In the ring was not unfrequently set a gem, or an intaglio, and examples have been found at Wroxeter of rings which have preserved their settings.

The Romans not only covered their fingers with rings, but they loved to wear on their arms bracelets *(armillæ)*, an article of rather frequent occurrence among objects of antiquity found on Roman sites. Gold and silver were more frequently employed in bracelets than in the fibulæ, but those hitherto found at Wroxeter are of inferior character. The bronze *armillæ* are sometimes of large dimensions, and very richly ornamented, but their forms are extremely varied. The cut on the next page represents two very elegant Roman bracelets of silver, found at Castlethorpe in Buckinghamshire, in an urn filled with Roman coins, which all belonged to the earlier empire. The bracelets are here given of the size of the originals. The Romans wore a collar of metal round the neck, as well as a bracelet round the arm; they called this a *torques*, or *torquis*. As the torques, at least during the earlier period, was usually made of gold, and was of very considerable weight, it was not so likely to be lost as other articles of personal

ornament, and it is therefore more seldom found in antiquarian explorations. A *torques* of gold, described as being twisted and wreathed, found at Pattingham in Staffordshire, in 1700, weighed three pounds two ounces; and one found in Needwood Forest, in the same county, in 1848, weighed a

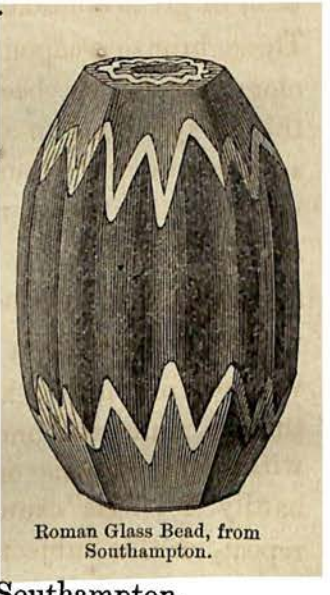


Roman *Armillæ* from Castlethorpe.

pound and nearly two ounces. I am not aware that any perfect torques has been found at Wroxeter, but one or two fragments of ornamental bronze have been picked up, which, on account of their peculiar curve, were judged to have been parts of torques.

The torques was considered among the Romans, as an ornament of the person used by men, rather than by females, and it was understood to have belonged originally to the barbarians, and especially to the Gauls, from whom the Romans derived it. Dio Cassius, however, describes queen Boadicea as wearing a torques of gold round her neck, and, as some ornament very like a torques is traceable in figures of females on sculptures, it may have been adopted by women in the later part of the Roman period. The Roman ladies wore more usually instead of the collar of metal, a necklace of beads. Beads are found

very abundantly among Roman antiquities in our island, so that they must have been in universal use. They are made of several materials, of which the most common is earthenware. But the glass beads are hardly less numerous—I believe that, as far as Wroxeter is concerned, I may say much more numerous. In either material, the beads are very commonly of mixed colours, which are worked together with great skill. A very usual form of the glass bead is that of a ribbed sphere. A bead of this form, of red earth, no less than an inch and a quarter in diameter, was found at Wroxeter. Another common form of the glass bead is represented in the accompanying cut, which is of the exact size of the original.



Roman Glass Bead, from Southampton.

This kind of bead is not uncommon, and it used to be known by the ridiculous and very incorrect name of "druid's beads," arising from a notion that it had some connection with the druidical superstitions. Jet, or Kimmeridge coal, was also used extensively in the manufacture of beads. The two beads described above are of unusually large dimensions. Those found at Wroxeter are generally much smaller and present no features which require particular description. The glass bead, of which the engraving is here given, was found near Southampton.

From the dress of the women, we naturally turn to that of the other sex, but of this we have less to say. That which would interest us most would be their arms and armour, but it is a very remarkable circumstance that among the vast quantities of Roman antiquities found in Britain, a weapon made of steel or iron is very rarely found, and that a sword is almost unknown. This might, to a certain degree, be explained by the circumstance that the Romans did not, like

the Anglo-Saxons, bury their arms with the dead; and weapons of war were so highly valued by the barbarians who overran the Roman provinces, that they would naturally carry them off among plunder, in preference to many other things. Still, this is but an unsatisfactory explanation; and if weapons of iron were in common use among the Roman troops in Britain, it cannot but be considered as very extraordinary that none of them are now found.

In face of this we have another circumstance, equally worthy of attention. Weapons of various descriptions, swords, daggers, spear-heads, and arrow-heads, are found throughout Britain, in great abundance, but made of another metal— bronze. These bronze weapons are assumed by a new school of archæology, which has been recently formed, to be "prehistoric," that is, to belong to another people, if not race, who lived here ages before either Romans or Britons, and who were acquainted with no other metal than bronze. One cannot but be startled at the notion of the existence of a people in our island, at such a remote period, who possessed the skill and artistic taste to produce such beautifully shaped objects as these bronze weapons of which I am speaking, and who were at the same time so numerous and warlike that they left the ground filled with their weapons of bronze, while the Romans have left us hardly a single example of their weapons of iron. I will repeat, on this subject, some remarks which I made in an address delivered before the British Archæological Association, as one of its vice-presidents, in the opening meeting of the session of 1867.*

"Bronze is a mixed metal, and not one of simple or easy formation. It was no doubt invented in Greece and the East, where iron did not exist, or where, at least, it was not

* Printed in the Journal of the British Archæological Association for that year, p. 60. See also my paper "On the True Assignation of the Bronze Weapons, &c., supposed to indicate a Bronze Age in Western and Northern Europe," in the Transactions of the Ethnological Society, vol. iv. p. 176.

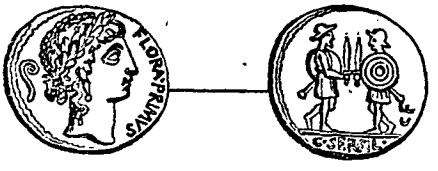
known until a comparatively late date, and where, therefore, people in a tolerably advanced state of civilization had to find a mixture of metals which would be hard enough to serve the purposes for which iron was afterwards used. For a long period, bronze was the only metal employed for such purposes in Greece and Italy; no doubt it was communicated from thence to the Gauls, when the intercourse between these peoples became intimate, and through them it would in time reach the Britons. But long before the natives of Britain could have reached that knowledge of metallurgy which would have enabled them to invent bronze, *they* must have become acquainted with iron and with all its utility. At the time when Cæsar invaded our island, although the Britons worked iron, they had no bronze of their own, and all they had was imported, no doubt from Gaul. The quantity of it was probably small. But the advocates of the new system of periods appeal to a certain number of objects in bronze found in Britain, as well as in Gaul, Germany, and other parts of Northern Europe, consisting principally of swords, spear-heads, daggers, and chisel-formed implements which are commonly known by the name of "celts", as being older than the invention of iron, and as belonging to a bronze period. In fact, it is upon the existence of these objects that the whole belief in such a period is founded. These objects are met with under circumstances which associate them so closely together, that they undoubtedly belong to the same period. I believe them to be all Roman.* I cannot, on an occasion like this, enter into an examination of the question in its various bearings, but I will state it briefly in regard to the most important of these implements, and that on which the advocates of the system of periods insist most, the sword.*

* I would refer, for a more extended examination of the arguments used by the supporters of this system, to my paper, "On the true Assignation of the Bronze Weapons," in the Transactions of the Ethnological Society of London, vol. iv. p. 176.

"It is hardly necessary to remark that the sword is not a weapon which belongs to a low state of social development. The savage is essentially a coward. He tries to hurt his enemy from a distance, and, if possible, from behind a tree, or a rock, or other shelter, that he may be out of reach of hurt himself. Your wild men of the "stone age," would no doubt in the earlier times fight by pelting their enemies with stones. As they advanced in civilisation (if we may apply the term to them), and gained courage to fight hand to hand, they would probably use a club, or a long staff with a stone tied to the end of it, with which they could still strike at a little distance. When metal was introduced, the first weapons were similarly the spear and the dart, and when the sword was brought into use, it was a long heavy sword, still intended for striking at a distance. In the heroic ages of Greece, the spear and the javelin were the favourite arms. It is to the Romans we must look for the more refined and disciplined use of the sword, which was the weapon of the legion. When we read in Cæsar, or Tacitus, of Livy, or Polybius, or any of the historians of the Roman wars, of their combats with barbarians, whether Germans, or Gauls, or Caledonians, or others, we meet always the same feature,—the advantage of the Roman consisted in fighting at close quarters with a short, pointed sword, intended for stabbing, against men who were armed only with long swords without points, intended for striking. The Roman manner of fighting required a very high degree both of courage and discipline; but it is evident that when he once closed in with his opponent, the long sword was useless, and the man who carried it lay at his mercy. That the Roman legionary was armed with a short sharp-pointed sword, is, therefore, a notorious fact.

"Now, let us look at the Roman monuments, and inquire what information they give us on this subject: and first

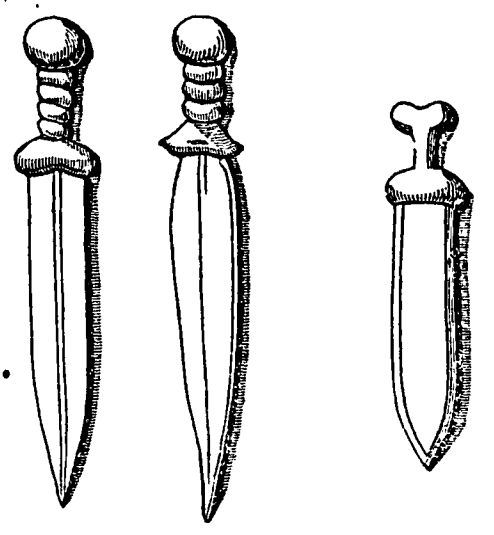
among these we will take the most interesting of the Roman coins, those of the consular series. In these we find numerous representations of the Roman holding his sword. I will only call your attention to one example: it is a coin of Caius Servilius, a contemporary of Julius Cæsar, and on its reverse we see two military figures, each holding a sword. These swords are short and pointed, and their form is that which is commonly described as leaf-shaped. The same form of sword is found on others of the consular coins; while some of them represent swords, still short and pointed, but with straight edges, tapering towards the point, or parallel until they are brought suddenly to a point. When we look to other monuments, we find the same form of sword, down to a rather late date. This leaf-shaped sword is seen in the hands of the Roman soldiers in the sculptures on the Arch of Constantine at Rome. The same form of sword occurs on many sculptures of the Roman period, found in various parts of the Roman empire, several of which are engraved in Montfaucon. I give a group of swords from rather rude sculptures on Roman sepulchral monuments at Constantine in Algeria, which show us both the leaf-shaped sword and the sword with parallel edges. If we look, again, at the Roman wall-paintings at Pompeii or elsewhere, at the Etruscan pottery, at almost any pictorial monuments of Roman antiquity which are in sufficient number, we shall find continually recurring this same short leaf-shaped sword.* It appears, indeed, to have been the sword of the ancient Greeks, which had been



Coin of Caius Servilius.

* In looking over the different collections of Greek and Etruscan vases, we see that the common weapons were the spear and javelin. The sword is of much rarer occurrence; but it is almost always the short leaf-shaped weapon, and it has the form of sheath usually found on Roman monuments. In D'Hancarville, vol. ii., plate 30, we have a figure of a warrior drawing the leaf-shaped sword from its scabbard. A good figure of the sword in its sheath will be found on plate 41 of the same volume.

brought by them into Italy, and had become the national weapon of the Romans, the sword of the Roman legionaries.

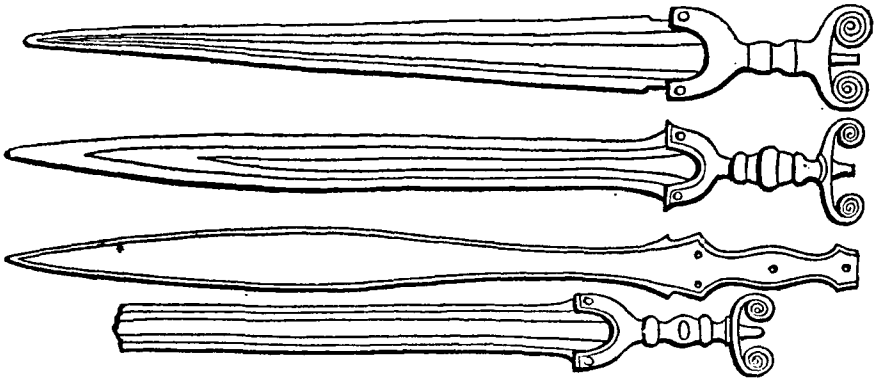


Roman Swords from Constantine in Algeria.

"It becomes, then, a fair question, Are all traces of the sword of the Roman legionary lost? Among the vast quantity of Roman antiquities which have been at various periods brought to light, and which are laid up in so many museums, is there not a single example of it preserved? I answer, there is; and I have no hesitation in pointing to the four swords represented in the group on the next page as the representations of that sword. They are the swords which the advocates of the new system of periods ascribe to a bronze age.

"The objection which has been raised consists chiefly in the metal; and yet this appears to me to have no good foundation. We know that in earlier times, both in Greece and Italy, the sword was made of bronze, and the Roman sword under the kings was certainly of bronze. We have no authority for stating that the metal of the short sword of the legionary was changed at any subsequent period. For

such a sword, used for stabbing and not for striking, bronze was almost as effective a metal as iron, and it offered several advantages. As the metal only required melting in a mould, the sword could, when wanted, be made or re-made easily without the trouble of forges and anvils. On the other hand,



Examples of Bronze Swords.

whenever we find the bronze swords within the limits of the Roman provinces, it is almost invariably under circumstances which must lead us to presume that they are Roman. Such is the case certainly in Britain. I may mention a bronze sword found in Silchester, the Roman city of *Calleva*, an account of which is given in the first volume of the Journal of the British Archæological Association, (p. 14). In two instances in France, recorded by the antiquary Mongez, they were found with Roman imperial coins, in one case of the Emperor Caracalla, in the other of Maxentius, which would be nearly contemporary with the Roman sculptures alluded to above. I have no doubt that further discoveries will furnish abundant evidence in confirmation of the Roman character of these objects. The Emperor Napoleon III. informs us, in the second volume of his *Histoire de Jules César*, that ten spear-heads, two axes (I suppose he means what are among us called

"celts"), and two swords, all of bronze, were found deposited in the fosse of Cæsar's line of circumvallation round the Gaulish oppidum of Alesia. A little research among the scattered and forgotten records of discoveries in past times would no doubt bring to light many cases in which these bronze weapons and other implements have been found in former times with objects of undoubted Roman manufacture, and even with Roman coins. In the time of Borlase, bronze "celts" were found at Karn-brê in Cornwall, along with Roman coins, some of which Borlase obtained, and has described.* One of these was of the Emperor Constantius which is curious as bringing them to the date of the sculptures and bronze swords already mentioned. Borlase tells us that they had also been found along with Roman coins at Aldborough in Yorkshire, the site of the Roman city of *Isurium*:† although this went against his own opinions on the subject, he speaks of it as a fact too well ascertained to admit of a doubt; but he seeks to explain it by supposing that the Romans of the province had adopted the older weapons of the Britons, and that thus they had continued in use, while he urged as an objection to their being Roman, what he believed to be the fact, that they had not been found in Italy. In this, however, he was mistaken. They did exist in Italian collections; and I have recently received a series of privately printed engravings of a small collection of interesting antiquities in the possession of Hodder M. Westropp, Esq., of Rookhurst, near Cork, among which there are no

* "In the year 1744, in the side of Karn-brê Hill, were dug up several hollow instruments of brass, of different sizes, called "celts," whose shape is most easily apprehended from the drawings of two of them" [he has given a plate of them], "with others from different parts of the kingdom, placed together for the better illustration of one another. With these instruments were found several Roman coins, six of which came into my hands. One of ANTONINVS AVG.; No. 2, uncertain; No. 3, DIVO CONSTANTIO PIO; reverse, MEMORIA FELIX; No. 4, defaced; No. 5, SEVERVS ALEXANDER; No. 6, defaced."—*Borlase, Antiquities of Cornwall*, p. 281; second edition, 1769.

† "They are found here at Karn-brê, and have been found at Aldborough (the ancient *Isurium*) in Yorkshire, in company with many Roman coins."—*Borlase*, p. 283.

less than five bronze "celts," found in different parts of Southern Italy, and apparently of Roman manufacture.*

"All the objections which have been raised to the Roman origin of these bronze weapons and implements appear to me either very trivial or founded merely in error. They rest chiefly on weak negative evidence. No direct evidence has yet been shewn that they are not Roman, much less that they belong to any other people. One of these objections, for instance, was founded on the small size of the handles which, it was alleged, could only be held by very small men; whereas, the objectors represented, if we judge of the ancient by the modern Romans, they were large men; and this was considered as a proof that the people who had used these swords was an oriental race. Of course, such a statement could only have arisen from a want of knowledge; for, on the contrary, the ancient writers are sufficiently explicit in stating that the Romans were a race of small men, and we have only to appeal to the evidence of Cæsar himself. In describing the siege of the *oppidum* of the Aduatuci (*Namur*), he tells us that, generally, the Romans were objects of contempt to the Gauls on account of the smallness of their stature;† and as, in his account of Britain, he tells us that the Britons were bigger men than the Gauls, and we know that the Britons were not giants, we can have no doubt of the smallness of the Romans. Besides, a sword used only for stabbing does not require the same strength or weight of handle as one for striking with the edge. A much greater apparent difficulty arises from the circumstance of the bronze swords and celts being found in great numbers in the countries into

* "*Collectanea Antiqua*, in the possession of Hodder M. Westropp, Esq., Rookhurst, Cork." Large 4to.

† Cæsar's words are,—"Ubi, vineis actis, aggere exstructo, turrim procul constitui viderant, primum inridere ex muro atque increpitare vocibus, quo tanta machinatio ab tanto spatio institueretur? quibusnam manibus, aut quibus viribus, *præsertim homines tantulæ staturæ* (nam *plerumque* hominibus Gallis præ magnitudine corporum suorum *brevitas nostra contemtui est*) tanti oneris turrim in muros sese conlocare confiderent?"—Cæsar, *De Bello Gallico*, lib. ii. c. 30.

which the Romans never penetrated, such as Scandinavia; but this, too, now admits of an easy explanation. It is true that these bronze swords are found in nearly all the countries outside the Roman provinces to the north and north-west, in Ireland, Scandinavia, Germany, and even in Hungary; but they all bear so close a resemblance to each other that we cannot reasonably doubt that, they must have been all carried from one common centre. The accounts of all the ancient writers shew most satisfactorily that, when the Romans first came in contact with any of these peoples, they did not find them using weapons of this description; but we can easily understand that, when the barbarians did become acquainted with the Romans, they would on one hand be glad to obtain articles of Roman manufacture, while on the other, Roman dealers would be equally glad to make a profit out of them by selling. These bronze swords, by their form and ornament, were just the things to attract the attention of the barbarians; and it is not improbable that they rather wore them as ornamental weapons (*des armes de luxe*) than used them in war, for they seem never to have displaced the old long sword of the Celts and Germans. In a paper on this subject, read before another Society,* I have called attention to the numerous traces of dealers of this description which are found in the Roman provinces, and which leave no doubt that there was a very extensive traffic carried on in these bronze implements by men who wandered over distant lands, like the mediæval pedlars, taking with them their implements for casting them. Thus these bronze swords and spear-heads and daggers and "celts" were of Roman origin, but were carried into distant countries by travelling merchants or manufacturers; and perhaps natives of those countries would in course of time learn to make them for themselves. Of the

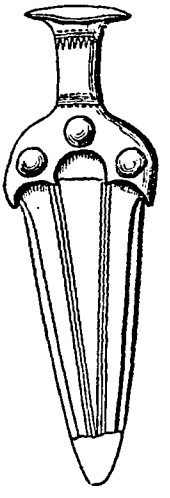
* See my paper, "On the true Assignation of the Bronze Weapons," quoted in a former note, and "The Celt, the Roman, and the Saxon," p. 73, 2nd edit.

four swords represented in our group, the first was found in the valley of the Somme in France (it is one of those described by Mongez), the second was found in the Lake of Neufchatel in Switzerland, the third in Sweden, and the last also in some part of Scandinavia. The further objection, that no Roman coins, or other objects known to be Roman, accompany these swords when found in Scandinavia or other countries beyond the limits of the Roman power, it is hardly worth discussing, because it is exactly what might be expected to be the case. A man's buying a foreign sword does not imply the necessity of his buying some other foreign objects to store up with it, especially if those objects had no relationship to the weapon, and were of no use to him; for what use could Roman coins be in countries where there was no monetary circulation? And why should the barbarians, when they bought bronze weapons from the Romans, be obliged to buy some Roman coins to bury with them, in order that people who happened, after many centuries, to dig them up, should know whence they obtained them?

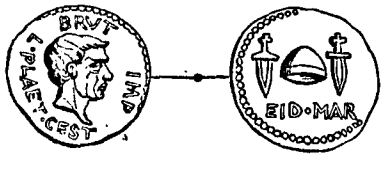
"We have thus, in sufficient abundance, all the evidence necessary in such a case. We have bronze swords answering exactly in form and size to those of the Roman legionaries, and they are found deposited with other undoubted Roman remains."

After the swords, the most remarkable of these bronze weapons are the daggers, which have an interest more closely connected with our city of Uriconium. The shape of the bronze dagger is tolerably uniform wherever it is found, whether in Gaul, or in Britain, or in Ireland, or in the north, which is in itself a sufficient cause for supposing that it must have belonged to a period when there was an easy mode of communication between all those countries. To show more strongly the identity of these daggers, I give in the cut on next page an example from the farthest point west—a bronze dagger from Ireland, because, at all events, the difference in

form between it and anything Roman found in Italy, must be the greatest possible. It is, like all the daggers of this class, broad-bladed, the blade ribbed, with chamfered edges. The blade, of course, is the characteristic part of either dagger or sword, and where we find the handles, which is less frequently, as they were no doubt commonly made of wood, they differ somewhat in different localities. In the present instance it is of a very Irish character, of a style of art bearing to that barbaric style which probably existed in the sister island during the latter part of the Roman period, and through the early Christian period, perhaps I may say down to the ninth or tenth century. Now let us turn to Rome itself, and inquire what was the form of daggers there, and the question is immediately answered, by a class of monuments of extreme interest, the consular coins, on which daggers occur not unfrequently, and they are all, as near as can be pictured on so small a scale, of this same peculiar character, broad-bladed, and ribbed, and with handles of the same general character. I will give an example which presents a very peculiar interest. It is a coin of Junius Brutus, the celebrated patriot who slew Julius Cæsar with his dagger, and no doubt represents the form of the weapon with which that memorable deed was performed. It is engraved from the original coin preserved in the numismatic collection in the British Museum. On the obverse we have the name L. PLAET. CEST, *i. e.* Lucius Plætorius Cestianus, one of the officers of Brutus, by whose order the coin was struck, and who gives to

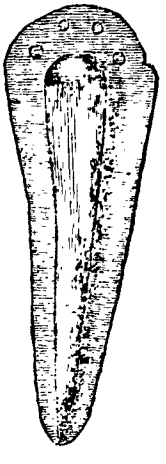


Bronze Dagger from Ireland



Coin of Junius Brutus.

his chief the title BRVT. IMP., *i.e.*, *Brutus imperator*. On the reverse appear the terrible emblems, the *pileus* (or cap of liberty) in the middle, a dagger on each side, broad-bladed and ribbed, and under them the words EID. MAR., *i.e. Eidus* (the archaic form of *Idus*) *Martiæ*, the day on which the deed was done. A glance at this curious coin is sufficient to convince us that the dagger with which Cæsar was slain was identical in form with those which are so often found in our excavations in Britain. But I am able to bring home still more directly to our county of Salop and to our ancient city of Uriconium this curious question. My friend the late Rev. Charles Henry Hartshorne gave me a drawing of a bronze dagger which, at the time he made the drawing, in 1838, was in the possession of William Anstice, Esq., of Madeley Wood, and was preserved there as without any doubt having been found within the site of Wroxeter. We are of course no longer able to interrogate the individual who found this curious relic, but I know no reason whatever to doubt the truth of the statement. I give a cut of it here from Mr. Hartshorne's drawing, with the caution, that the drawing was made in outline, and I fear that the rather high relief of the central part may be ascribed in some degree to the imagination of my engraver. It will be seen that it presents the same form as the other bronze daggers, the broad ribbed blade which pierced the heart of the great Dictator.



Bronze Dagger from Wroxeter.

Our neighbourhood, at least, has furnished us with further evidence of the Roman character of these bronze implements. A great part of the trade and manufactures of the middle ages was carried on through a system of pedlars, who travelled about from place to place, carrying with them articles of commerce, or materials and implements for making them. It was one of the necessities of the condition

of society, when intercommunication between different parts of the country was slow and uncertain. This was so strictly the case, that, long after the invention of gunpowder, men who were skilled in making it travelled about the country from one great town to another, carrying with them the materials which could not be obtained locally, and the people of the different towns, and all others who wanted the gunpowder, awaited their arrival, with the commoner ingredients of it ready prepared. Any one who will examine the local records of the town of Southampton will find sufficient evidence of this practice in regard to gunpowder. This mediæval custom, like so many of the other forms of mediæval society, was no doubt derived directly from the Romans; and, curiously enough, we find abundant traces of this practice in relation to the bronze weapons and implements. They consist in discoveries of deposits, usually of an earthen vessel for melting bronze, of which there is sometimes a residuum at the bottom, of moulds for casting, and generally of some fragments of broken swords or other bronze implements, no doubt intended as metal to be melted down, and of similar articles entire, constituting stock-in-trade. These deposits are almost always found near a Roman road, or in the neighbourhood of a Roman station, and we are therefore justified in considering that they belonged to Roman subjects, who had travelled as manufacturers of these bronze implements along the Roman roads, and halted at those spots for personal or local reasons which are unknown to us. Discoveries of such deposits have been very numerous in Britain, Gaul, Switzerland, and Germany.

The first example I will give of such discoveries was made in the immediate neighbourhood of Uriconium. Some years ago, one of such deposits was found near the foot of the Wrekin, not far from the great Roman road known as the Watling-Street; it consisted of a quantity of bronze celts, some entire and others broken. I believe that another similar discovery

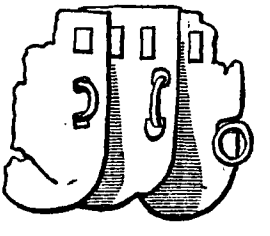
was made near the remains of a Roman villa at Pontesford in Shropshire, on the border of the great Roman lead-mining district. Other such deposits under similar circumstances have been found in different parts of the island. One was found at Sittingbourne, on the Kentish portion of the Watling-Street, among which there were fragments of a bronze sword; another, consisting of bronze punches, chisels, and other implements, with several pieces of unused metal, one of which was evidently the residuum of the melting pot, at Attleborough in Norfolk, on the Roman road between Thetford and Norwich; another, again, consisting of sixty bronze chisels, &c., with a portion of a bronze sword, and a piece of bronze which appeared similarly to be the residue from melting, all contained in an earthen pot, at Weston in Yorkshire, on the Roman road from Old Malton, where there are the remains of a Roman town, to York. It is unnecessary to adduce further examples, and I can only imagine one fact that can be drawn from them. It was the Roman itinerant manufacturers who made the bronze weapons and bronze implements of which there has been so much talk.

So general was the use of bronze for the manufacture of arms and armour among the Greeks and Romans in the earlier times, that the person of the warrior, when he presented himself, was said poetically to glitter with bronze. This was called in Greek (by Homer) *augê chalkeiê*, a bronzy shine, and in Latin *lux aëna*, a bronzy light. Thus, in Virgil, when Pyrrhus presents himself in full armour:

> Vestibulum ante ipsum primoque in limine Pyrrhus
> Exultat, telis et luce coruscus aëna.
>
> *Virgil. Æn.* ii. 469.

Within the limits of our own border, too, has been found an object connected with the accoutrement of the Roman soldier of much greater rarity. This was a portion of the *lorica*, the warrior's armour or mail. The earliest Roman

armour made of metal appears to have been scale mail, the scales of which were formed of flexible bands of steel. This was the *lorica squamata*, of which a description is given by the early glossator, Isidore of Seville, according to whom it was "made of steel or bronze plates chained together in the manner of the scales of a fish, and receives its name from the brightness as well as the resemblance of the scales."* Some scales belonging to this description of armour were found among the large deposit of articles of Roman manufacture in metal found at Hod Hill, in Dorsetshire, by Mr. Durden, and are engraved in one of the plates to the description of these antiquities by my friend Mr. C. Roach Smith, in the sixth volume of his Collectanea Antiqua.† These scales were of bronze silvered, which must of course have given them the brightness described by Isidore, and they were fastened to each other by rings or hooks at the sides and tops, in rows, the lower extremity of one row overlapping the upper part of that beneath, thus resembling the scales of fish, and the whole appears to have been originally sewed to leather or linen. As Mr. Smith informs us, other examples of this kind of armour have been found at Pompeii; in the ruins of the amphitheatre of Avenches in Switzerland; and, among antiquities of the Roman period, at Catterick in Yorkshire, the site of the Roman station of *Cataractonium*. My friend has also given at the page quoted an engraving of three of the *squamæ* found at Catterick, which I gladly transfer hither.



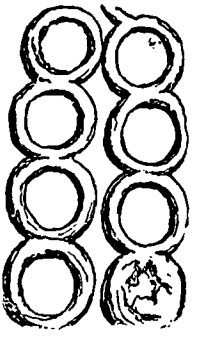
Roman Scale Armour from Catterick.

Mr. Roach Smith himself possessed in his museum several collections of rings of brass, or bronze, which were found

* Squama est lorica ferrea ex laminis ferreis vel æreis concatenata in modum squamarum piscis et ex ipso splendore squamarum et similitudine nuncupata est. *Isidori Origines*, ed. Colon. p. 158.

† C. Roach Smith, *Collectanea Antiqua*, vol. vi. pl. iii, and page 8 of the text.

among unquestionable Roman remains in excavations made in Eastcheap at London, and which have evidently belonged to armour. They were all in lengths made of four welded together at the edges, and they seem, like the scales, to have been made to be attached to leather or some other substance. Two of these lengths are represented in the accompanying cut. Sir Samuel Rush Meyrick saw other examples of Roman rings, exactly resembling in character those just mentioned, in the collection of Lord Prudhoe.



Roman Armour from London.

Those however to which I would more particularly call attention as having been found on the Welsh border were in Sir Samuel Meyrick's own collection. We gather from the classical writers that the armour which seems to have been most valued by the Romans, and probably, was most fashionable, was chain-mail. These suits of armour were called in Greek *alysidōtous thōracas,* hauberks made of chains or linked rings. They were worn especially by the Roman *hastati.* According to Athenæus,* at the magnificent games celebrated by King Antiochus at Daphne, the grand procession was led by men armed in the Roman fashion, in breastplates of chain armour, all men in the flower of youth, to the number of four thousand. Virgil more than once speaks of mail as being formed of rings hooked or linked into one another. Among the arms of Neoptolemus, were :—

> Loricam consertam hamis auroque trilicem.
>
> *Virgil. Æn. lib.* iii. *l.* 467.

Similarly, among the prizes given by Æneas at his games, was :—

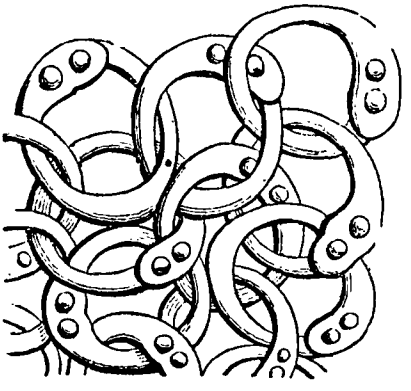
> Levibus huic hamis consertam auroque trilicem
> Loricam.
>
> *Æn. lib.* v. *l.* 259.

* *Athenæi Deipnosophist.* lib. v. c. 22.

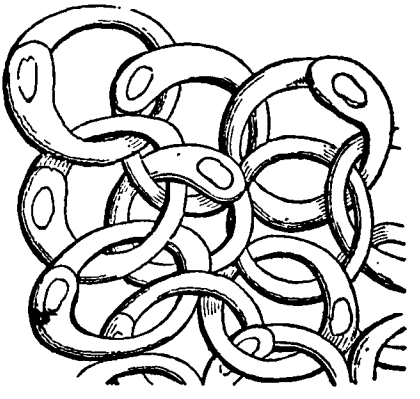
and so, on another occasion, in the war with Turnus, one of the heroes :—

> Hic galeam tectis trepidus rapit; ille frementes
> Ad juga cogit equos, clypeumque auroque trilicem
> Loricam induitur, fidoque accingitur ense.
>
> *Æn. lib.* vii. *l.* 637.

In the earlier days of the British Archæological Association, Sir Samuel Meyrick exhibited at one of the meetings an object which is represented, front and back, in the accompanying cuts,



Roman Chain Armour found at Ruardean; front.



Roman Chain Armour found at Ruardean; back

and of which he gave the following account.* It was obtained from the neighbourhood of Ruardean, on the immediate border of the counties of Hereford and Gloucester, and was said to have been originally found in some church in that neighbourhood, but this seemed to be rather an uncertain tradition of something like thirty years old. It was made of steel; and had fallen into the possession of a rope-maker, who used it, by rubbing violently up and down, to smooth down the little rough projections caused in the making of the rope, and by this process it had been considerably worn. Sir Samuel saw at once that it had formed part of a suit of ring armour, but he imagined it to be mediæval, and rather hastily assigned it to the reign of Edward II. When, however, it was shown to

* See the Journal of the British Archæological Association, vol. i. p. 142.

Mr. Roach Smith, he at once claimed it as Roman, and produced evidence which convinced Sir Samuel himself that this was correct. In fact, it agrees very well, as will be seen by the cut, with the epithets applied to the *lorica* by Virgil. Since that time (April, 1846), Mr. Roach Smith has engraved in one of the plates to the second volume of his Collectanea Antiqua a fragment of chain armour of precisely the same description, which he purchased with other antiquities at Cologne, and which were afterwards deposited in the fine museum of Lord Londesborough at Grimston Park in Yorkshire. All the objects obtained by Mr. Roach Smith on this occasion were stated to have been found in an early Frankish grave, or barrow, in the immediate neighbourhood of Cologne, and they consisted of a mixture of objects, Frankish and Roman, which is generally the case in the Frankish, and in the early Anglo-Saxon graves. It was quite natural for a Frankish chieftain to be in possession of a Roman *lorica*.

CHAPTER VIII.

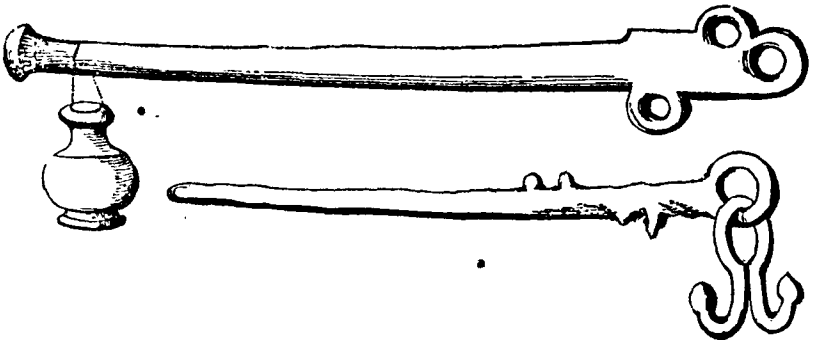
MISCELLANEOUS OBJECTS FOUND AT WROXETER.

It is not my intention to give a catalogue of the miscellaneous objects found among the ruins of Uriconium, and preserved in the Museum at Shrewsbury. It could only be a very imperfect list, and would be of little use in a volume like the present, for we can easily understand how, in the tumultuous plundering of a great city like Uriconium, a vast number of miscellaneous objects of almost every description must have been left scattered over the floors and in the streets, and how every new step in advance in exploring the site adds to our collection. In fact, we rarely make even a small excavation, if of sufficient depth, within the circuit of the ancient walls, without bringing to light some object of Roman workmanship. Of course, many of these are the ordinary implements of common use, such as knives, choppers, nails, &c., most of them of rather common workmanship, resembling in forms the same classes of objects found abundantly on other Roman sites, and not differing very greatly in their character from similar implements made in modern times. They are all interesting as illustrative of the character of domestic and industrial life in our island under Roman rule, but some here and there are of more especial interest as illustrating peculiarities of that life with which we should not otherwise become acquainted. Many of these have formed the subjects of the preceding chapters; and I will now only notice a few of them which did not

appear to come very easily under any other general head than that of miscellaneous.

One of the first classes of objects which here attracts our attention comprises those connected with the trades and manufactures of the Roman period. These have to us a special interest, because there can be no doubt that we derive from the Romans our system of trades, the general character of our older commerce, and especially our trade corporations. In regard to many of these objects, the persistence with which their forms are traced as continuing through so many centuries is very remarkable. We may quote as an example the implements used for weighing, all which we appear to derive from the Romans. The common balance, or scales, (*libra* or *bilanx*), was we know in common use among the Romans, as it is mentioned by their writers, and frequently pictured on monuments, but it is not commonly found among Roman monuments, and especially in excavations in this country. However, it is found in the Anglo-Saxon graves of the pagan period, and in these cases its Roman character is proved by the skill and delicacy displayed in its construction. When found in the grave, Roman or Anglo-Saxon, it appears usually to have belonged to a dealer in money, or in ingredients for medicine, or in some objects more or less precious, and is of diminutive form. It is not the implement for weighing used in ordinary trade. This was the *statera*, or *trutina*, which is called in English of the present day a steelyard. The steelyard consists, as every reader knows, of a beam of metal, suspended on a pivot near its one end, to the short arm of which the object to be weighed is suspended, while the longer arm is graduated to fractional parts of a pound, and has suspended upon it a constant weight. The form of the Roman *statera* is exactly similar to this, and both the beam and the weight, separately, are frequently found on Roman sites. One of the beams, which closely resemble each other, has been found

at Wroxeter, and may be seen in the Museum at Shrewsbury. It is notched and half-notched, with further fractional divisions marked on it. Two others, rather more perfect, were found at Richborough, (the Roman *Rutupiæ*), so carefully excavated some years ago under the care of Mr. Roach Smith and his friend Mr. Rolfe of Sandwich, and are figured in Mr. Roach Smith's volume, "The Antiquities of Richborough, Reculver, and Lymne," from which I have borrowed them in the accompanying cut.*



Roman Steelyards, from Richborough.

The origin of the modern English word *steelyard* appears to be very uncertain, and it is perhaps a mere corruption. We have no direct indication of the existence of this form of balance under the Anglo-Saxons, and it was probably known chiefly among the traders in the towns. There existed in the city of London from an unknown period down to the sixteenth century a trade corporation of considerable importance known as the Merchants of the Steelyard, who were perhaps derived from Roman Londinium. The French have preserved the tradition of the Roman origin of the steelyard down to the present day by the name it has borne in French from an early period of a *romaine*. It was also called in the French of the

* It may be well to remark that, by a mistake of the artist, the upper example is here drawn the wrong way upward.

days of old Cotgrave the lexicographer, that is in the time of our James I. and Charles I., a *crochet*, under which word Cotgrave explains it in his Dictionary in English as "a Romane beame, or *stelleere*." This latter word is perhaps the old form of our modern word steelyard.

There was one characteristic of the Roman steelyard which is especially entitled to our notice. The weight suspended to it was remarkable for the artistic elegance of its forms. The weight to the Roman steelyard from Richborough given above is of a less ornamental character than usual; but it was often formed into the heads of animals, such as a dog, or a lion, or of birds, as in two given in Mr. Roach Smith's Antiquities of Richborough representing a cock and a goose, or into busts of nymphs or divinities, or of Roman emperors and other historical personages, all executed in a very good style of art. Two examples given in my book, "The Celt, the Roman, and the Saxon," represent one, an ordinary female bust, the other, a bust of the goddess Diana. I am enabled to give two other good examples of these Roman steelyard weights found on Roman sites in England. The first is in the form of a male bust, which was found at Silchester in Hampshire,

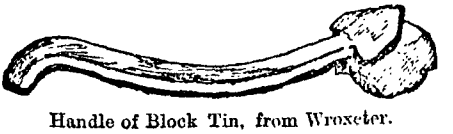
Roman Steelyard Weight, found at Silchester.

Roman Steelyard Weight from Essex.

within the walls of the Roman city of *Calleva*. It was exhibited before the British Archæological Association in 1845 by Mr.

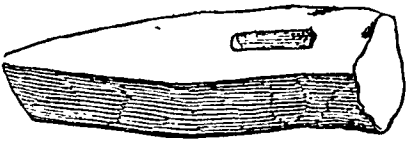
Fairholt. The other is also a bust, perhaps of a Roman senator, found in the Essex marshes near Grayes, where other Roman remains have been met with, and which was also exhibited by its possessor to the British Archæological Association. I am not aware that any of the weights of the steelyard have yet been found at Wroxeter.

We have hitherto been occupied mainly in exploring the buildings of Uriconium which were more or less of a public character; but as the excavations proceed over the sites of the domestic buildings of the ancient city—among the citizens—the number and variety of objects of a miscellaneous character will no doubt increase rapidly, and our knowledge of social life in Roman Britain will be proportionally enlarged. Among the articles already assembled in the Museum at Shrewsbury, are a considerable variety of knives, choppers, and other cutting instruments. Several axes and picks present forms not unlike those of modern times. One or two present the appearance of gardening tools. Nails were found also in abundance, and the Museum contains one hammer, which is of a cylindrical form, and, curiously enough, is made of lead. One of the nails in the Museum is made of bronze. Of course the district bordering upon Uriconium is the country of lead, and we need not be surprised at finding that metal in common use here, which is not usual on other Roman sites. Among leaden implements in the Museum will be seen a little bowl, or cup, about three inches in diameter, and of not inelegant form. Another metal, of very rare occurrence among early remains, whether Roman or other, has been found here. It is a handle, seven inches in length, perhaps of a culinary vessel, made of block tin, a fragment of the vessel to which it belonged remaining attached to it. It is represented in our cut. The other



Handle of Block Tin, from Wroxeter.

cut represents an implement found at Wroxeter years ago, which was in the private possession of some person in the neighbourhood of Wroxeter. The drawing of it was given to me by the late Rev. C. H. Hartshorne; the engraver to whom I entrusted it, lost the drawing on which the inscription was written, but, to the best of my recollection, it was of large dimensions, and made of stone. Stone, as a material, appears to have been used for many purposes in ancient Uriconium. Among the objects in the Museum we have a stone handle of a knife.



Stone Implement from Wroxeter.

Another material, used very extensively, was bone. It was a material which was, as may be supposed, in very common use among the Romans, in all parts of the world, and it will be remembered that in the market-place of Uriconium we found in one of the chambers a depôt of animal bones under circumstances which seemed to show that they were materials for sale.* Roman needles made of bone have been found at Wroxeter, and may be seen in the Museum; and among other objects is a very curious bone handle, apparently of a sword.

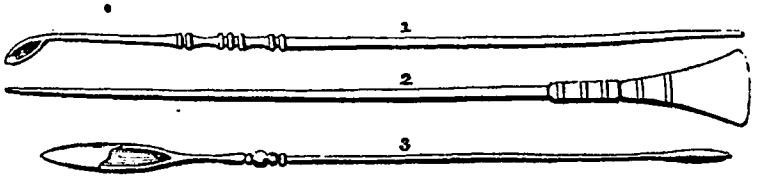
Among the domestic utensils more frequently found on Roman sites are the spoon, which appears under two forms,—one large bowled, the *cochlear* of the Romans, and the small delicately formed spoon which was called a *ligula*. The handle of the former usually ended in a point, which appears to have been commonly used for picking periwinkles, or snails, out of their shells, for we know that the Romans were passionately fond of these delicacies. Martial's epigram on the *cochlear* is well known, in which he speaks of its double use for picking

* See before, page 191.

out periwinkles with one end, and for eating eggs with the other :

> Sum cochleis habilis, sed nec minus utilis ovis,
> Numquid scis potius cur cochleare vocer ?
> *Martial, Lib. xvi. ep.* 121.

The *ligula* was a much smaller and more delicate form of spoon, which is supposed to have been used for taking ointment and other similar objects from the long-necked bottles. Two good examples of Roman *ligulæ*, found at the Roman station of Richborough, near Sandwich, are represented in the accompanying cut. The spoons of both descriptions



Roman Ligulæ and Stylus, from Richborough.

have been found at Wroxeter, and may be seen in the Museum, but the *ligulæ* are not quite so good as those here given.

The object between the two *ligulæ* in the preceding cut, which is usually made of bronze, and of which more than one example has been found in Wroxeter, introduces us to another phase of social life. It is the Roman *stylus*. People in general among the Romans, all except those who were professed scribes, did not use pen and ink in writing, but wrote upon tablets *(tabulæ)*, upon which was laid a layer of wax, with an implement usually made of bronze, one end of which finished in a sharp point, while the other spread out into a flat broad shape as here represented. This was called a *stylus*, a name which holds a rather remarkable place not only in literary but even in political history. This

stylus, or, as it was called by another name, *graphium*, when of tolerable size, is a sufficiently formidable weapon; and when Julius Cæsar was attacked by the conspirators, he had one of them in his hand, and it was with it that he wounded Cassius before he was assassinated. It is from the name of this instrument that we use the expression of *style* in writing. Styli of bronze and iron have been found at Wroxeter, so that they were no doubt in general use among the inhabitants of Uriconium. The mode of literary correspondence at that period was as follows: An individual wrote his letter on the waxen tablet with the pointed end of his stylus, and sent it closed up to his correspondent; the latter read it, erased it, smoothed the wax with the broad end of the stylus, and then wrote his answer on the same wax, closed it, and returned it by the same bearer.

Among other miscellaneous objects found on the site of Uriconium, we may notice a horse's bit and a spur. Both are of bronze, but they present no very striking peculiarity. The latter is, like all the early spurs, a prick-spur, with rather a short prick. The rowel-spur is a comparatively modern invention. In the neighbourhood of the market were also found the remains of a chariot, which are deposited in the Museum. These consist of the iron tire of a wheel, three feet three inches in diameter, and an inch and a half in breadth, and of two iron hoops, which appear to have belonged to the nave of the same wheel.

In the same neighbourhood was obtained another object of some curiosity. In one of the walled recesses on the eastern side of the market place, which had been conjectured to have formed shops, a small round box of iron was picked up, with a flat lid, but it had become hermetically sealed by the decomposition of the metal The lid, however, has been sawed off, and it appeared to have contained some description of unguent, but it was no longer possible to discover of what it

was composed. We may also mention, among other miscellaneous objects, a small leaden figure of a cock, which is supposed to have been a child's toy; and a number of roundels, formed chiefly out of the bottoms of earthenware vessels, which seem to have been used for some game. We often find, on Roman sites, traces of the love of the Romano-Britons for gambling. The larger examples are about an inch and a half in diameter, but others are smaller, and the last especially are often made of bone, and have holes in the centre, whence they are supposed to have served for buttons.

We will now turn to another class of objects, many of which have been found on the site of Uriconium, but they are unfortunately of a character which causes them to be eagerly picked up and carried away, and their local interest is forgotten in their more or less value as works of art. I mean the cameos and intaglios.

The art of engraving on precious stones, or glyptography, as it is usually termed, appears to have been practised at a very early period among the Egyptians; but it was carried to its greatest perfection by the Greeks and Romans. Among the latter people especially such engraved stones were in very common use, and great importance appears to have been attached to them; and this fashion extended through the empire into its most distant provinces. Pliny speaks of the love of precious stones as being in his time a "universal passion." Besides their extreme beauty, and that value which is always conferred by rarity and great dearness, these precious stones were the objects also of superstitious feelings; for people were rather naturally led to believe that objects in which nature had crowded so much beauty and value in so small a space, must also possess hidden virtues which were not shared by ordinary objects. By working upon this first idea, they began to associate special qualities with the particular colour, or shape, or degree of brilliancy, of the stone

itself. Thus the possession of one stone gave the wearer fortitude and courage, another preserved him from danger, a third gave him health, a fourth might ensure fidelity in his engagements. People sought to increase the force of these various virtues by engraving upon them figures and subjects which they imagined to have some mysterious relationship with those qualities, under circumstances favourable to their development. Thus the figure of Mars engraved on a particular stone, and commenced at an hour of the day when the heavens were in a particular astrological position, was supposed to ensure to the wearer victory in battle. It was from such feelings, apparently, that the art of glyptics took its rise.

It was thus, too, that these engraved gems came into use as signets, and were set in rings for the convenience of carrying them on the fingers. A letter or other object, sealed with an engraved stone, was believed to derive from that circumstance a certain character of authority and sacredness which it would not otherwise possess. Moreover, particular rings became characteristic of particular persons, and were used as tokens in which entire trust might be placed, in confidential communications. The personal history of the ring, indeed, would be a very curious one, and the materials for it are abundant. It was a common belief that the great powers possessed by remarkable individuals in eloquence, in influencing people's minds, in commanding fortune, in conciliating love, and even in ruling over the hidden powers of the spiritual world, were contained in a ring. According to the eastern and mediæval stories, it was a magical ring which gave Solomon power over the demons and genii. One day, when Solomon laid down his ring to enter his bath, it was carried away by an evil being, who threw it into the sea. The wise king overcome with grief at the loss of his power over the supernatural world, made a vow never to

sit again upon his throne until he had recovered his ring; and at the end of forty days, on opening a large fish which was served at the royal table, the precious jewel was found in its belly. This story is similar to that told by the ancients of Polycrates of Samos, who, alarmed by his long run of uniform good fortune, lest it might be followed by some great and disastrous change, sought to appease the fickle goddess by subjecting himself to voluntary loss; and, with this view, he threw away into the sea his ring, in which was a precious stone which he looked upon as one of the most valuable of his treasures. The ring was immediately swallowed by a large fish, which was soon afterwards caught; and, being purchased for the table of Polycrates, the ring was found in its belly, and restored to its right owner. The ring, with its engraved stone, sometimes possessed the power of rendering its owner invisible at will. Such was the ring of Gyges the Lydian, which he employed to gain secret access to the queen of Candaules, and seduce her affections,—an intrigue, the result of which was the murder of Candaules, and the elevation of Gyges to his throne.

But to return to the more authentic stories of the use of engraved stones, Pliny (lib. xxxvii, cap. 3) tells us that king Pyrrhus possessed an agate on which was engraved by nature the figure of Apollo and the Nine Muses. The same writer records the subjects of some of the engraved stones possessed by men of celebrity. The dictator Sylla used for his signet a stone on which was represented the surrender of Jugurtha. The emperor Augustus was in the habit first of using the figure of a Sphinx for his signet, one of two engraved stones presenting the same subject which he found among his mother's jewels. As this device gave rise to jokes on the enigmatical language in which he used to write, Augustus subsequently abandoned the sphinx, and adopted as his signet a stone engraved with the head of

Alexander the Great. A frog was engraved on the signet of his minister, Mæcenas. Wealthy individuals began soon to make collections of engraved stones; and, at a very early period in the history of the empire, it was a subject of great pride at Rome to possess a well-stocked dactyliotheca.

The eagerness for the possession of engraved stones, and the value set upon them, seemed to increase as the empire declined; and they were no less highly prized by the barbarians who settled upon its ruins, and who considered them as a valuable part of their plunder. The art, too, was continued, although in a very debased state. As we have seen, in the earlier period, the engraved stones possessed two distinct values: one for their extreme beauty, for they belonged to the highest class of ancient art, and were executed by men celebrated for their talent; the other, on account of their supposed occult qualities. The first of these qualities was gradually neglected and lost; while people set so much increasing importance on the latter quality, that they were satisfied if the figures were only sufficiently well drawn to indicate what they meant. The engraved stones executed in the later times of the Roman empire, were almost entirely amulets and talismans, the works of astrologers and magicians. The art had, indeed, descended so low that, shortly afterwards, when the empire had sunk into mediæval Europe, the beautiful intaglios dug up so frequently upon ancient sites seemed so extraordinary and inexplicable, that people believed that they were not the work of human hands, and invented all sorts of singular interpretations for them. In this all were agreed, that they were endowed with powerful and mysterious virtues, and they tried to discover these virtues through conjectural interpretations of the figures. According to these interpretations, many of them acted as powerful cures for diseases; others gave courage and success in battle; others again

protected from evil influences; and the rest were similarly in possession of other beneficent qualities. The monks and other ecclesiastics of the middle ages, believing in all these qualities, collected diligently the ancient intaglios which the plough or spade frequently turned up on Roman sites; and many of the monastic treasuries became thus enriched with beautiful specimens of this art, which have since become the pride of modern museums. And they must at one time have been in very common use even in this distant province of Roman Britain, from the frequency with which they are still found in excavations among Roman remains in all parts of the island, but they have been generally carried away and lost sight of. The example given in the accompanying cut was found some years ago at Caerleon, and was exhibited before the British Archæological Association. It thus belongs to our border, but whither it has passed at present I am not able to say. It represents Venus Victrix, and no doubt was believed to possess its "virtues." No doubt, considerable numbers of intaglios have in past times been found on the site of Roman Uriconium, which were thus carried away and soon lost all connection with the locality whence they were derived. I had collected in the accompanying plate all those which I was able to assure myself were known as found at Wroxeter. They are not numerous, but they are of very different styles of workmanship, and belong evidently to several periods of the history of glyptic art.

Intaglio found at Caerleon.

The first example given in the plate, fig. 1, which was found in 1840, is in the possession of W. H. Oatley, Esq., of Wroxeter. It is engraved on a black stone, with a vein of pure white upon its face, and the cutting shows up a black figure. The workmanship is rather inferior.

Fig 2 is also of inferior workmanship, and both probably are works of rather a late period. It is engraved on a bright

red stone, and is here given from an impression in wax; but I am not aware in whose possession the original is now to be found.

Fig 3. This is the first engraved stone we found in the course of our present excavations. It is very diminutive, but not ill executed, and the subject is full of fancy and imagination: it represents a fawn springing out of a nautilus shell. The nautilus was a favourite emblem among the ancients, and occurs not unfrequently in intaglios. A rather curious circumstance connected with this stone is, that it is set in a small ring of iron, which is not a metal frequently used for such a purpose; but I think that I have read somewhere, in the mystical directions on this subject, that the magical virtues of some stones are strengthened by setting them in iron rings. This intaglio with its ring, as found, may now be seen in the Museum of Wroxeter Antiquities in Shrewsbury.

Fig. 4 belonged formerly, with one or two other intaglios, to the Rev. W. G. Rowland, of Shrewsbury, and a drawing of it had been preserved by Mr. Farmer Dukes, the well-known Shrewsbury antiquary. Mr. Rowland's collection was dispersed after his death, and it was not known where they were preserved; but some time ago, Dr. Kendrick, of Warrington, kindly sent me an impression in gutta percha of this identical seal, as still existing in a private collection, and from this impression it is here engraved. It represents a huntsman on horseback flying from the pursuit of a lion, and is perhaps the best, certainly the most spirited, of them all in artistic execution.

Fig. 5 is a small figure of a bacchante, carrying a thirsus over her shoulder.

Fig. 6, as well as the next, is only known to me through a drawing by Mr. Farmer Dukes, from which they are engraved in a plate in a volume of the *Transactions* of the Gloucester Congress of the British Archæological Association. It represents the hippocampus, or sea-horse, an imaginary animal, of

frequent occurrence on Roman monuments of all kinds and in all parts. It is by no means an unusual figure on Roman monuments found in our island.

Fig. 7. This also is rather a favourite idea among the playful subjects on Roman works of art. One Cupid, having placed an enormous tragic mask over his head or shoulders, is trying in this disguise to frighten a fellow Cupid, who appears to be somewhat taken by surprise. In an intaglio in one of the continental collections, in which the same subject is treated a little differently, the second Cupid is so frightened that he is falling over on his back.

We see at one glance that these intaglios, though few in number, are not only very diverse in subjects, but that they belong to different and distinct styles of art. They present no examples either of the best style of glyptic art, or of the worst; but they fairly represent, as far as they go, the history of that art as it was known in Roman Britain. Examples have been found in our island much superior to any of these, and many have been met with much inferior to them. When we consider the variety of such monuments found in Britain, and the numbers,—not forgetting that the mere fact of so many being found amounts to a proof that they were in very common use,—it leads us naturally to raise the question, Was the glyptic art itself established in this distant province? It would require more space than I have now at my disposal to discuss this question as it ought to be discussed; but I am inclined to answer it in the affirmative, and to avow my belief that glyptography was practised in Roman Britain; as, indeed, were nearly all the arts and manufactures of the Romans. At first, no doubt, the conquerors of the island, and their companions and followers, brought with them the beautiful intaglios of their native country; and they, no doubt, continued to be imported into Britain. But examples of such fine Italian work are certainly of rare occurrence; and there is a certain

character stamped on most of the engraved stones we find here, which seems to mark them as belonging to provincial art. If this were the case, the interest of these relics would be much increased, as we might read in them the history of one branch of Roman art as it was transplanted to Britain; and some of the examples which are found here are so extremely rude in design and execution, that we may conclude the art was practised in our island down to a very late period.

Another class of small objects of art found commonly on Roman sites are the statuettes in bronze, with which the Roman house, in our island, as elsewhere, was evidently well furnished. Many of them represent the *lares*, or household gods, which possessed many of the characteristics of the different classes of fairies of more modern superstition, and whose favour all sought to conciliate, and for this purpose they distributed their figures in conspicuous places in different parts of the house. Others are figures of the various deities of the ancient mythology, which were perhaps placed in positions of the house where the passer by might pay his reverence to them, and at the same time they served for ornament. Others of the smaller bronze images were, we can hardly doubt, children's toys. These statuettes, when found in excavations, are even more than the intaglios liable to be carried away and dispersed, and as this is not usually done openly, the articles are not easily traced or with any certainty, and dishonest dealers pass bronzes as coming from this or that locality merely to give them a price. Frequently bronze statuettes have been shewn to me which were stated to have come from Wroxeter, without the least evidence that that was the case. Many, no doubt, have been found there, but two only are preserved in the Museum at Shrewsbury, one a figure of Venus, representing in attitude the Venus de Medici, the other a Mercury. Mr. Oatley, of Wroxeter, possesses a partially mutilated bronze statuette of Diana.

I will speak briefly of another class of remains which occur in great abundance over every part of the site of the Roman city, to a degree, indeed, which is not easily explained. These are the bones of animals, which no doubt had been eaten. A large heap of these bones has been collected on the field of our inclosure at Wroxeter, and a few selected examples are deposited in the Museum; and it is very desirable that they should all be carefully examined by a skilful and experienced physiologist. Such an examination would throw light on the character of the table of the Romano-Briton, which was evidently well furnished with great variety of dishes. The people of Uriconium were no doubt much given to hunting, and we find in abundance the bones of all kinds of game, both birds and quadrupeds. Among the latter are bones of the roe, the red deer (*Cervus elephas*), and fragments of the horn of a species allied to the elk of Ireland (*Strongylocerus spelæus*). Nor did the chase stop here, for there have been found numerous remains of the wild boar, and I believe also some of the wolf. Among the skulls of the dog, one belongs to a dog of the mastiff kind, which is considered to be a species now unknown. Extinct species of some other animals are said to be indicated by the bones found here. Among these are crania of the *Bos longifrons*, one of which, now in the Museum, bears on its spacious forehead the mark of the blow of the butcher's axe by which it was slaughtered. Bones of another species of ox are found which is said not to be now known, and I am told that there are indications of an extinct species of the sheep. We find here also indications of the extreme love of the Romans for shell-fish, which extended even to snails. The shells of oysters, mussels, cockles, periwinkles, and whilks, are common. Another of the animal remains found here is curiously characteristic. In the course of the excavations it has been not at all an uncommon occurrence to meet with the legs of the fighting

cock, which are generally furnished with very large natural spurs. Several examples may be seen in the Museum. The citizens of Uriconium must have been great lovers of cock-fighting, which indeed is known to have been a favourite sport among the Romans.

From the bones of animals we may turn to those of the human race, which present many points of equal interest. Independently of the regular interments in the Roman cemeteries of Uriconium, human remains are found scattered here and there among the ruins of the city. The state of these ruins, and all the circumstances connected with them, prove beyond doubt that Uriconium was taken by some of the barbarians who assisted in tearing to pieces the enfeebled body of the Roman empire, that a frightful massacre of the inhabitants followed its capture, and that the plunderers set fire to it before they abandoned it. It was found, as stated before, in excavating the extensive mass of buildings in the middle of the city, consisting chiefly of the basilica and the public baths, that many of the terrified inhabitants, pursued by the barbarians, when they were masters of the city, had evidently sought refuge in these buildings, which were full of hypocausts, and other places difficult of access, and not very likely to be explored even by the victorious savages, almost as eager of blood as of plunder. In what appeared to be an entrance court of the baths, one or two skeletons of men were found where they had evidently been overtaken by their pursuers and slain. In the corner of the same court the skull and some of the bones of an infant of the age when children are carried in the arms, was found under circumstances which would lead us to imagine that its mother had been perhaps overtaken in the room above, at the top of a staircase which, now uncovered, still leads down to the hypocausts, whither she was probably flying to conceal herself, and her child snatched from her, murdered, and tossed

out through a window into the yard. In one of the hypocausts, which had been approached from the large inner court of the baths, three skeletons were found near together, under rather curious circumstances. In another hypocaust, to the eastward of that containing these three skeletons, another skeleton was found, which shows that in the midst of the terror with which the population of Uriconium was overwhelmed in this terrible moment, there was a general impulse to seek concealment in the hypocausts. Other bodies, including more than one child, were found in different parts of the ruins, and in the supposed market place were found the remains of six dogs, which appeared also to have been massacred by the merciless invaders of the town.

Of these numerous victims, the bones, and especially the skulls, were generally so much broken and decayed that very few of the latter could be preserved and deposited in the Wroxeter Museum, at Shrewsbury. To judge, however from the small number of examples which admitted of examination, they presented no peculiarities which might not be found in any civilized town, and nobody who has examined the remains of Roman Uriconium which have been brought to light, will doubt that it was a town in a high state of civilization. The skull of the old man, found in the hypocaust, was remarkably well formed.

But we now come to the most remarkable, if not the most important, part of this subject. At a corner where what is now called the Watling Street road, or at least a branch from it, turned down to the river Severn, and crossed it by a ford, is a large open field extending on a level to the edge of the high bank, or cliff, which overlooks the Severn. In the course of trenching this field for the purpose of ascertaining if there were remains of buildings under it, we found, not far from the turn of the Watling Street road, a series of regular interments of human bodies. The

ground is an orchard planted with a few fruit trees, and covered with grass. The bodies were laid on their backs, stretched out, with their arms extended by their sides, or in one or two cases, one arm bent across the body, and parallel to each other east and west, but without indications which would lead us to conjecture the age to which they belong. Of five skulls first taken up, four were singularly and uniformly *deformed*, having an unnatural twist which causes one eye to advance before the other, and gives an obliquity to the face. Further trenching of the ground brought to light ten other skulls, three of which presented the same deformity, while three were not deformed, and the other four were in too imperfect a condition to be satisfactorily examined, though some of the fragments seemed to have belonged to similarly deformed skulls. Thus, out of eleven skulls which could be examined, seven presented the same remarkable deformity, with this only difference, that in one or two instances the twist is in the contrary direction from that in the others. There has arisen a difference of opinion on the subject of these skulls, whether the deformity existed before death, or whether it has arisen from posthumous causes; and the question does not appear yet to have been satisfactorily, or at all events finally decided. It is not my intention to enter into it any further than to state one or two facts relating to the circumstances under which the skulls were found, which will require to be attended to in any physiological discussion.

The field in which they lay is within the limits of the town, on a height above the river, and near a probable entrance to the town, but where I believe the river itself was the only defence. As it struck me, at first sight, that the deformity might have been produced artificially in infancy by the pressure of two boards, and as we know that some of the barbarians, the Huns for example, did produce such deformity in their children, I thought that these might possibly

have been the remains of some of the attacking party, who had been slain on this spot, and who had been buried by their companions before they left; for it appears to have been an open place without any buildings. But this was a mere hasty conjecture, which I am not at all inclined to sustain. On the contrary, I am now disposed to suspect that these bodies belong to a later period than was at first supposed. The soil in which they are interred was mixed, both above them and below, with Roman *débris*, which could only be the case in earth which had been formed upon the surface of the Roman level, and this formation would have required a considerable period of time. At the date of the destruction of the town, these bodies, which were when discovered only from about a foot to eighteen inches below the surface, would have been above ground. Moreover, there is a very suspicious proximity to the modern churchyard, from which this field is only separated by a road. At the same time, it must be remarked that this road is the Watling Street road, and that it must therefore have been older than the period at which these bodies were interred.

My friend Dr. Henry Johnson, in a very able paper read before the Royal Society, has endeavoured to show that there are chemical elements in the earth in which these remains lay, which might have so far affected the substance of the bone as to render it pliable and capable of being thus deformed after death. But, supposing this to be the case, we seem to want entirely the mechanical causes of deformation. They were not buried sufficiently deep to have a weight of earth upon them—in fact, when buried, their graves must have been very shallow; no weight of buildings or of ruins has lain upon them, but, on the contrary, from the quantity of small fibres of roots which are mixed with the earth, I suspect that during the middle ages the place had been covered with low brushwood, which, indeed, was generally the case with deserted ruins.

Again, we can hardly understand why such a cause affecting bones in this field, should not equally affect the skulls of the bodies interred in the adjacent churchyard, or why all the deformed skulls in this field should have the same deformity, or why the other bones of the body should not be similarly affected. The skulls of the Roman inhabitants, which are found with a great weight of ruins over them, have, in no instance yet observed, undergone any similar deformity. It must be added that the few skulls not deformed which were found among these deformed skulls in the orchard, are comparatively good types of skulls, and that one is well developed and finely formed. It is perhaps to be desired, as calculated to throw further light on the real history of these skulls, that the whole of the ground should be carefully explored by trenching.

CHAPTER IX.

COINS FOUND AT WROXETER.

It is a frequent subject of wonder why, whenever we dig upon a Roman site, we almost invariably find the Roman money scattered about everywhere. This is eminently the case at Wroxeter, where, for centuries the Roman coins have been picked up in abundance by the peasantry, who gave them the local name of *dinders*, which represents the Anglo-Norman *denier*, and the Latin *denarius*. The word itself is a proof of the length of time during which it has been customary to pick up the Roman coins here, for no doubt it was derived from the Anglo-Norman language, when that language was commonly talked on our border. In many parts of England the peasantry were so surprised at finding the Roman coins thus scattered about, that it became a part of their superstitions, and they called them fairy money. At the first glance, indeed, one is almost led to suppose that, before the Romans left the place, they amused themselves with throwing their money about. A little reflection, however, will perhaps enable us to explain this circumstance without much difficulty.

The Romans had nothing like our system of banks for the deposit of their money, and they were obliged to keep it at home. The usual receptacle for it was an ordinary earthen vessel, more or less capacious, according to the quantity it was required to hold. So much of the money as was not in use appears to have been generally concealed by burying the

vessel a little depth under the ground, either within the house, or in its court. The owners probably sometimes died far away from home, and their treasures were forgotten, or they were obliged to leave under circumstances which prevented them from carrying them away. In the course of ages, during the various operations of agriculture, the earthen vessels have been broken, and the money spread widely through the ground. Again, the barbarians who overran the Roman provinces were generally unacquainted with the use of money, and when they plundered a town, or a villa in the country, they probably placed no value on the coins, unless they were made of the precious metals which they knew how to appreciate, and they threw them away in order to load themselves with other objects which seemed to them more useful. Most of the coins picked up under the circumstances of which I am speaking are of copper or brass.

Vessels of earthenware—crocks, as the country people call them,—such as those just mentioned, filled with Roman coins, are frequently found in different parts of our island, so that the practice of burying them must have been very general. Such discoveries had already attracted the attention of our Anglo-Saxon forefathers, and given rise apparently to theories and conjectures; for whoever wrote this part of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle tells us, under the year 418, "In this year the Romans collected all the treasures that were in Britain, and hid some in the earth, that no man might afterwards find them, and conveyed some with them into Gaul." Yet, at the time when this paragraph was written, the practice of depositing money by burial in the ground can have been no novelty, for it was continued during the middle ages, and we actually find, by his own Diary, worthy Samuel Pepys, in the reign of Charles II., laying by his money in the same manner by burying it in his garden in London. A singular example of the practice occurred in Ireland in the earlier part of the

fourteenth century, and became the cause of family troubles of a rather remarkable character. At the beginning of that century there lived at Kilkenny a rich usurer named William Outlaw, who had received in deposit from one Adam le Blond a sum of money to the amount of three thousand pounds, which with a hundred pounds of his own he buried in the ground within his house as in a place of safety; but William Kiteler, sheriff of Kilkenny, a relative of Outlaw's wife, Alice Kiteler, went with force one night, entered the house, dug up the money, and carried it all away. When the Outlaws took proceedings for the recovery of their property, the plunderers set up the plea that it was treasure trove, as it was found buried under the ground, and that it belonged to the king. The affair led to a series of strange proceedings, which show the turbulent and lawless condition of Ireland under the first of the Edwards, and finally developed itself into a grave charge of sorcery against Alice Kiteler.*

Crocks of coins, which have been thus buried, have been found at Wroxeter, and the last discovery of this class occurred under circumstances curiously illustrative of popular sentiments. Such crocks appear also to have been used as common receptacles for money in the house. The coins found at the entrance to what we have called the enameller's shop appeared to have been carried in a small earthen vessel, the fragments of which were found near them. The coins found near the skeleton of the old man in the hypocaust had been contained in a small box or coffer of wood. However, there were other ways of carrying money in the house, or perhaps out of the house the evidence of one of which has been found in the course of our excavations. This was a curious skiff-shaped vessel, with a circular handle, resembling a basket, made of bronze, which might, from its appearance, have been intended to be

* I edited the records of these extraordinary proceedings years ago in a volume for the Camden Society, and a full account of the prosecution for witchcraft will be found in my "Stories of Sorcery and Magic," vol. i. p. 25.

carried by a lady in her hand, or suspended to her arm. The basket part had a lid, fastened by a small flat bolt, and when found it is said to have contained some coins. A vessel exactly similar, filled with Roman coins, was found concealed in a cleft in the rock, in an ancient quarry near Thorngrafton in Northumberland, in the year 1837, and both the coins and their receptacle are engraved by Dr. Collingwood Bruce in his excellent work on "The Roman Wall." I am afraid no note was made of the coins found in the little basket at Wroxeter, but those in the Thorngrafton vessel were of gold and silver, the latest of which was of the emperor Hadrian. We may perhaps, therefore, conclude, that this was the sort of receptacle in which the Roman ladies carried their money in the earlier half of the second century after Christ. Instances occur from time to time of much more curious receptacles for the preserving of Roman coins. John Leland tells of the discovery by a shepherd in his time of the shank-bone of a horse, the mouth closed with a peg, which was filled with Roman silver coins; and in much more recent times, a shepherd boy found, in the neighbourhood of High Wycombe in Buckinghamshire, ten British gold coins inclosed in a hollow flint. These singular methods of keeping money appear to have prevailed to a comparatively recent period. At the close of the month of May, 1863, a workman employed in excavations at the Castlegate, in the town of Malton in Yorkshire, found the remains of a beast's horn, which appeared to have been filled with coins of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, for among those examined were some from the mints of kings John, Edward I., and Edward II. But let us return to the story of the last crock of money found at Wroxeter.

There lived in Wroxeter some years ago—I know not if she be still alive—a village woman named Betty Fox, the wife of a wheelwright, who was much given to grubbing about within the limits of the Roman town and to dreaming

of finding treasures. For a while her researches met with no success, and of course her fellow villagers laughed at her, but she was not discouraged. At length, one night, Mother Fox, as she was called by her neighbours, had a very important dream, inasmuch as it was revealed to her that there was a crock of money buried at a certain spot, near an alder bush, in the bank at one side of the lane leading from Wroxeter to the Horse Shoe inn. Anybody who has visited Wroxeter will remember that this lane is cut rather deep through an elevated part of the ground on which the ancient town stood, and which we know to have been covered with some of the best houses, and the bank on each side of the road, near the scene of Betty Fox's adventures, are very high, and descend much below the level of the Roman floors. The good wife awoke, and told her husband of her dream, but he only laughed at her, and recommended her to go to sleep again. She did so, and the same dream was repeated, so, rising quietly and dressing herself, she took one of the tools out of her husband's basket, and trudged away towards the scene of her dream. It was about three o'clock in the morning, and of course there were not many people about, but a cottager's wife was roused by the noise she made, went to her window, and asked Mother Fox whither she was going. "Ah," she said, "I've dreamt it at last!" and hurried onwards. When she reached the lane, she proceeded to the first alder bush which offered any resemblance to that seen in her dream, and set vigorously to work, and, surely enough, she had not gone far before she came upon a Roman vessel of earthenware, which she broke to pieces with a blow of the implement with which she was digging before she saw it. The vessel had been filled with Roman silver coins, which had no doubt been deposited there by the Roman proprietor of the house which had stood above, for the place in which it lay would lie a little below the foundations. Betty Fox, in great joy, gathered the coins into her

apron, and hastened home with them. As she passed the cottage of the villager's wife just mentioned, the latter, who had heard her approach, was again at the window, and, to her inquiry, received the answer, "I have found it." On arriving at her own cottage, Mother Fox emptied her coins into what is called in Shropshire a "twopenny dish," and then said to her husband, who had called her a fool before she started, "Fool or no fool, I've found the coins." It was a large parcel of coins, and in very good condition. Mr. Oatley of Wroxeter, who told me that he had the first choice of them, bought a hundred at a shilling each; other persons in the neighbourhood purchased some of them; and I have been told that the remainder were carried to Wellington and sold there.* The old woman realized altogether by the sale of them twenty-eight pounds. It is a curious story. Betty Fox had a son, who inherited from his mother the faculty of dreaming of treasures. He was employed in our excavations on the site of the cemetery, which will be described in the next chapter, and continually gave us trouble by quitting the spot in which he was ordered to dig, and being found digging in another spot of his own choosing. It turned out always on inquiry that the night before he had dreamt of finding a treasure in the locality of his choice!

It is hardly necessary to inform the reader that coins are objects of especial value in these explorations, because they enable us to fix dates, sometimes with great exactness, though generally they only fix a date backwards, for we can be certain that a coin was not deposited in any given place before it came from the mint. In former times the coinage was never called in, so that a coin of any reign may have been deposited in any place at any period after it was struck, until it were worn out. A curious instance of the value of coins in this respect has occurred at Wroxeter. In the year 1841, a waggoner's lad, in grubbing about the Old Wall, pulled out a

* The son states the crock contained 402 silver *denarii*. One of the coins having three heads upon the one side of it. This was no doubt the reverse of the coin of Septimius Severus, FELICITAS SAECVLI, having the full-faced head of Julia Domna between those of Caracalla and Geta.

piece of the morter, or rather concrete, from the interior of the wall, in which was imbedded a coin of the emperor Trajan. This coin, which is now in the possession of my friend Mr. Samuel Wood, is of large, or as it is called by numismatists, first brass, having the inscription S. P. Q. R. OPTIMO PRINCIPI, with a figure of the emperor on horseback darting a javelin at a prostrate foe, who appears by his bonnet and trousers to be a Dacian. It is in a perfect state of preservation, and, as it is known to have come from the mint in the year 105, it affords good evidence to the fact that the Old Wall at Wroxeter cannot have been built before that year. As its appearance shows that the coin had not been long in circulation, the building of the wall may have taken place soon afterwards.

Julius Cæsar has told us himself that, at the period of his first invasion of our island, the Britons had no coinage of their own, and that their only medium in its place consisted of pieces of metal the value of which was determined by weighing. The information given by Cæsar is in general extremely accurate, and we cannot see how, in this case, he can easily have been deceived; for if a coinage existed in Britain, it must have been in those very parts which he visited, and he could hardly have been unacquainted with it. Yet some modern antiquaries have disputed Cæsar's authority on this point, and insisted that the Britons had a coinage of their own. Yet the evidence they bring forward, I confess, appears to me to carry very little force, and I still adhere to the opinion that Cæsar was correct. The coins which can be identified as British are generally inscribed in Roman characters, and we know were struck by chieftains in alliance with the Romans. Though they belong to an early date, they no doubt continued in circulation down to an indefinite period, that is until they were lost, or worn out, or melted down to use the metal for other purposes. There was no doubt an earlier coinage in

Gaul, which was in circulation in Britain along with the British coinage during the early Roman period, and it is often found in deposits in different parts of our island. I am only aware of one example of the Celtic coinage which has been found in Wroxeter. It is in the possession of Mr. W. H. Oatley, and is of the same type with some gold coins found in Kent, and engraved by Mr. Roach Smith, in his "Collectanea Antiqua," vol i., plate 7, figs. 1 to 6. They are probably Gaulish, but, as the coin possessed by Mr. Oatley may have been brought to Uriconium long after it was minted, it cannot be taken as furnishing any evidence in favour of the great antiquity of the town, though we may perhaps conjecture from its presence here that Uriconium was a place of some commercial importance early in the Roman period. At the same time it leads us to think that no British coinage was known in our city of Uriconium.

At Wroxeter, as elsewhere, the Roman coinage is found in now tolerable well known proportions of the different periods, which perhaps represent to a certain degree the comparative issues from the mint, but which also no doubt arise from political circumstances of which we have but an imperfect knowledge. As I have said, the whole of the Roman coinage, as far as it existed, was in circulation during the whole Roman period. In the earlier period of Roman colonization, the want of money in the distant provinces may be supposed to have been not great, and therefore we cannot expect to find much of the money of the republic or of the earlier empire; but this assumption would not hold good entirely, because early coins might come in with those of a later date. This is the case, and we find at Wroxeter coins of the Roman consuls, though the Romans only came into our island at the beginning of the empire. The number of the earlier coins in circulation would naturally diminish in the course of time, and we find in the two parcels of coins in

possession of individuals who lived at the latest period of the existence of Uriconium,* in one out of a hundred and thirty-two coins only two coins older than the time of the Constantine family, one of the usurper Tetricus and one of Claudius Gothicus, and in the other no coin older than the reign of Caracalla.

There are reasons for believing that, among the causes of the turbulent condition of the Roman provinces in the latter part of the third century after Christ, one of the more important was the want of a supply of coins of small value. In the year 287 of the Christian era, a Roman officer in Britain, named Carausius, usurped the imperial purple, and for two years reigned here as emperor. It was under Carausius that, for the first time, Roman coins were struck in our island. The coins of Carausius found on the border of Wales are rather numerous, but, singularly, on the site of Uriconium, where we might suppose that a monetary circulation at that period was very necessary, they are rare. However, to counterbalance this defect, there has been found here one of the most remarkable coins of the whole Roman series. In 1851, long before the excavations were commenced, Mr. Roach Smith visited Wroxeter, and obtained from its excellent vicar, the Rev. Edward Egremont, a coin of Carausius which is perfectly unique. It is well known that on the Roman imperial coinage, the head of the emperor is always given in profile and either laureated, or helmeted, or radiated. In this extremely interesting coin, which is of very artistic workmanship, we have a portrait of the usurper in a front face, with the head entirely bare. The reverse is one of the ordinary reverses of the coins of Carausius. This unique and very remarkable coin is now, with the rest of my friend's collection, in the British Museum.

Carausius was murdered in 293 by his officer Allectus, who caused himself to be proclaimed emperor, and reigned here

* See before, pp 68, 69.

during three years. The coins of Allectus, also struck in Britain, are numerous; but in 293, Constantius, who was destined soon afterwards to be emperor of Rome, overthrew Allectus, and restored the province of Britain to the empire. Constantius was the father of Constantine the Great, and this seems to have given to our island a special importance in the eyes of the subsequent Roman emperors.

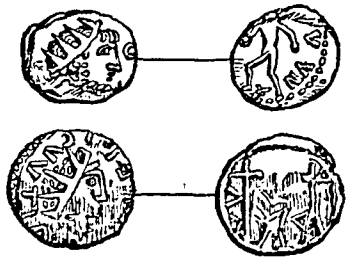
The want of money in the Roman provinces seems to have been supplied by various means, some of which are curious enough. The Constantine family of emperors appear to have understood the wants of their time, and they endeavoured to supply it by an unusually large issue of copper coinage. Under this dynasty, there were undoubtedly provincial mints. Many of the Roman coins of this period have in the exergue the letters P. LON, which is supposed to be an abbreviation of *pecunia Londinensis*, London money, just as other money of the same period is marked as coming from Treves, or from Lyons *(Lugdunum)*, or from other great provincial towns. It is evident that at this time Britain was well supplied with money, and it is believed that there were in Gaul large imperial depôts of the small coinage whence it was sent over to the island when wanted.

The Romans had found other methods of supplying money in the provinces, or rather of debasing it. This was simply by forgery, but it was in this case the silver coinage, and not that of copper, which was tampered with. The quantity of spurious money in circulation during the Roman period, as shown by the remains, is very remarkable. We sometimes find coins which are made of iron, and some other metals of small value, and merely silvered over, to make them pass as silver. But the more ingenious method of forging, and, to judge from the numerous traces we find of it, probably the most common, was by casting in moulds made from other coins. Remains of establishments at which this forgery was

practiced have been found at different places in Britain and in Gaul, and there are reasons for believing that the forgers were in the direct employ of the imperial government. It could boast moreover of being a very ingenious deception, as the forged coins that were thus manufactured did not represent the reigning emperor, but emperors who had reigned at a previous time, so that if the fraud were discovered, the odium might fall upon them. Thus the fact of the continued circulation of the coinage through an indefinite period was turned to advantage. Impressions were taken in fine clay off genuine silver coins of the emperors of the past, and a number of these clay impressions were packed up so as to form a mould, into which very debased metal was run, and thus a coinage of little worth in comparison with that which it represented was made and sent into circulation. The remains of these moulds, of the implements used in melting, and the coins themselves, have been found at Lingwell Gate, near Wakefield in Yorkshire, at Caster in Northamptonshire, the site of the Roman town of *Durobrivæ*, and at other places in Britain, in such quantities as to leave no doubt that during the Roman period they must have been very abundant. Remains of these coin-moulds have been found at Wroxeter, and one is preserved in the Museum at Shrewsbury. It is an impression of a coin of Julia Domna, the wife of the emperor Severus. It was found at the southern extremity of the site of Uriconium, near what I believe was one of the principal gates of the ancient city.

When the imperial government was withdrawn from Britain, the island was deprived of any further supply of money from the continent, and the towns, each now left to its own resources, appear to have soon felt the want of a small coinage of copper. Under these circumstances they made dies and coined money for themselves, considerable quantities of which have been found on some Roman sites. These coins, which are all made of brass, are very rude copies of the Roman coins

of the Constantine dynasty, which were those chiefly in circulation at the close of the Roman period, and, from their very small size, munimatists have given them the name of *minimi*. The subsequent Anglo-Saxon coinage was also a rude imitation of that of the Romans, but it differed entirely from these *minimi*, it being always of silver, whereas the *minimi* are invariably of brass. They are found on the sites of towns which had existed for a time after the withdrawal of the Roman power. At Richborough, the Roman *Rutupiæ*, the existence of which was continued into the Anglo-Saxon period, the *minimi* are found in considerable numbers, and Anglo-Saxon coins also. Mr. Roach Smith, in his book on the Antiquities of Richborough, enumerates two hundred *minimi* found there, which he had examined. I have described two small sums of money which were in the possession of individuals in Uriconium at the time of the destruction of the town. In one of these, consisting of 132 coins, all of copper or brass, there were six *minimi*; in the other, consisting of thirty-eight coins, three of which were of silver or plated, there was one. No Saxon coins have been found at Wroxeter. Two of these *minimi*, found at Wroxeter, are represented in the accompanying cut. The lower is the one last mentioned. They are barbaric imitations of two very common types of the later Roman series. One, a soldier bearing a victorious standard in his march, with the inscription GLORIA ROMANORVM; the other, two soldiers holding standards and trophies, with the inscription GLORIA EXERCITVS. Both occur on coins of Constantine, and are repeated on those of later emperors. The heads are crowned, and in the style of the coins of Tetricus and of the last of the dynasty.



Minimi found at Wroxeter.

CHAPTER X.

THE CEMETERY OF URICONIUM; THE SEPULCHRAL INSCRIPTIONS.

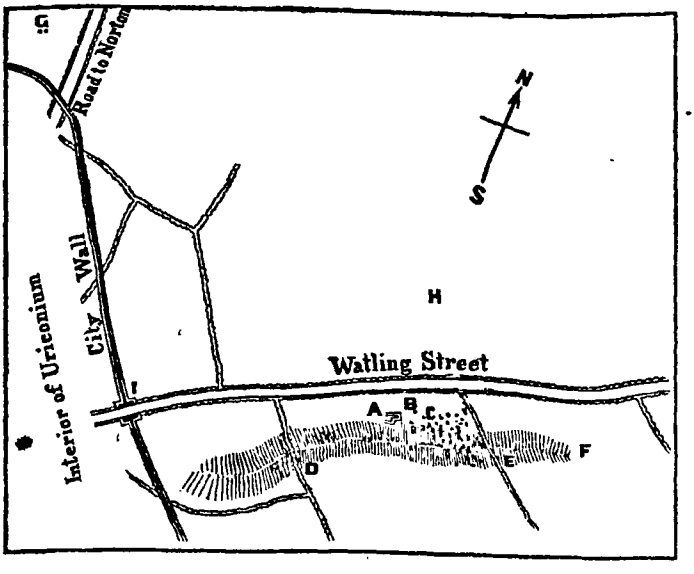
THE invariable custom of the Romans, founded upon religious as well as sanitary motives, forbade the burial of the dead within the limits of a town. This rule is found to have been strictly adhered to in all the Roman towns in Britain the sites of which have been hitherto explored. Perhaps I might say that all the ground just beyond the walls, or other limits or boundaries of the town was good for burial purposes, but the word *Cemetery* as here used must not be taken strictly in its modern sense, as a piece of ground enclosed for the sole purpose of burial, but merely as signifying the locality where the sepulchral interments were located together. The Romans did not consecrate pieces of ground in this manner, but the family of the deceased, if they were inhabitants of a town, bought a small piece of ground to bury him wherever they could obtain it to their own satisfaction, provided it were not within the walls of a town.* The possessor of a villa in the country appears, from the discoveries made in all parts of our island, to have had his burial place within the precincts of his own house. In the former case, where the inhabitant of a town bought a piece of ground outside the walls, it became consecrated by the circumstance of its being the repository of the dead, and to trespass upon it was regarded as sacrilege. Nevertheless, the ground adjoining the grave might be employed for any

other purpose; and suburban houses and villas might be intermixed with the tombs, as was the case in Pompeii. Indeed the Roman seems, even when dead, to have still courted the proximity of the living, for he always sought by preference to establish his last home as near as possible to the most frequented road; and the inscriptions on his roadside tomb often contained appeals to the passers by—in terms such as—SISTE VIATOR *(stay, traveller)*, or TV QVISQVIS ES QVI TRANSIS *(whoever thou art, passenger)*—to think on the departed. The epitaph on a Roman named Lollius, published by Grüter, concludes with the following words, which intimate that he was placed by the roadside, in order that those who passed by might say, "Farewell, Lollius!"

HIC . PROPTER . VIAM . POSITVS
VT . DICANT . PRATEREVNTES
LOLLI . VALE.

This feeling existed in Roman Britain no less than in Italy. In most of the Roman towns in this island we find that the principal cemetery lay outside the gates on the road leading to the chief town in the province. The principal cemetery of Uriconium was without the eastern gateway, bordering the famous road so well known by the name of the Watling Street, which led towards Londinium, now London. Another motive might be pointed out for selecting this locality at Uriconium, in the circumstance that it was the highest ground round the city, and the least exposed to be overflowed by the floods of the river Severn. The site of the cemetery is now covered by open fields, and will be better understood by the plan on the next page, in which the letter I marks the site of the eastern gate of the city of Uriconium, the dark line representing the line of the town walls. The Watling Street, as will be seen, runs from it in nearly an easterly direction. To the south the ground rises from the road in a gentle bank, the brow of which, in the field where

the excavations have been chiefly carried on, is marked by the shading from D to E. Attention had formerly been called to this locality by the accidental discovery, it is supposed not far from the spot marked E, of three slabs of stone bearing interesting sepulchral inscriptions, which are still preserved



Site of the Cemetery of Uriconium.

in the library of Shrewsbury School. This field was explored very extensively during the year 1861. Trenches were carried from the hedge which separates it from the Watling Street road over the whole extent of the bank, and further over the field to some distance to the south. Early in the course of these researches, at the spot marked B on the plan, low down on the slope of the bank, the excavators found a thick slab of stone, lying on its face; and, when raised, it was found to bear on its face a sepulchral inscription, partly in Latin verse, to the memory of a Roman soldier named Flaminius Titus. Further exploration showed that the whole of this end of the bank was filled with interments, consisting of cinerary

urns and their usual accompaniments, which appeared to have been put into the ground in rows. These interments covered the ground marked in our plan with dots. Trenches carried further towards the ancient town wall, or beyond the bank across the field, gave no traces of burials, so that this appears to have been the extremity in one direction of the burial ground towards the town. The site of the cemetery probably extended over the next field, F, but this has not yet been examined. The excavators were subsequently employed in the field, H, on the other side of Watling Street, in the farm of Mr. Bayley of Norton, but no discoveries were made there, and the cemetery would thus appear to have been confined to the southern side of the road. But an accidental discovery led to the examination of the garden of Miss Bythell in the hamlet of Norton, at G in our plan, and there was found one well defined interment, besides traces of others. It is not improbable, therefore, that the tombs of the citizens were scattered over the ground outside the walls along the greater part of their extent.

We know that the Romans had two methods of burying their dead, by interring the body entire, when it was inclosed in a sarcophagus of stone or in a chest of lead, and by burning the body and reducing it to ashes, which were deposited in an urn or other vessel. In the age of the Antonines the practice of cremation was finally abolished in Italy, but the imperial ordinances appear to have had but little effect in the distant provinces, where the two forms of burial still continued to exist simultaneously. Roman interments of the entire body in this manner have been found in many parts of England, and especially in London, at York, at Colchester, and in several places in Kent, but it is a curious fact that no instance has yet been found at Wroxeter. We know that this great city flourished till the end of the Roman period, yet every case of interment yet found has exhibited to us the body

burnt, and the ashes buried in an urn. We can hardly doubt from this circumstance, that the religion of Christ never prevailed in Roman Uriconium.

To explain the various objects which are found in the Roman graves, it will be necessary to give a brief sketch of the formalities which attended death and burial among the ancient Romans. The last duty to the dying man was to close his eyes, which was usually performed by his children, or by his nearest relatives, who, after he had breathed his last, caused his body first to be washed with warm water, and afterwards to be anointed. Those who performed the office last mentioned were called *pollinctores*. The corpse was afterwards dressed, and placed on a litter in the hall of the house with its feet towards the entrance door, and it was to remain there during seven days. This ceremony was termed *collocatio*, and the object of it is said to have been to show that the deceased had died a natural death, and that he had not been murdered. In accordance with the old popular superstition, a small piece of money was placed in the dead man's mouth, which it was supposed would be required to pay the boatman Charon for the passage across the river Styx. In the case of persons of substance, incense was burnt in the hall, and the latter was often decked with branches of cypress, while a keeper was appointed who did not quit the body until the funeral was completed. The public having been invited by proclamation to attend the funeral, the body was taken out on the seventh day, and carried in procession, attended by the relatives, friends, and whoever chose to attend, accompanied by musicians, and sometimes by dancers, mountebanks, and performers of various descriptions. With people of wealth and honour, the images of their ancestors were carried in the procession, which always passed through the Forum on its way to the place of burial, and sometimes a friend mounted the rostrum and pronounced a funeral

oration. In the earlier times, the burial always took place by night, and was attended by persons carrying lamps, or torches, but this practice seems to have been afterwards neglected; though the lamps still continued to be carried in the procession. Women, who were called *præficæ*, were employed not only to howl their lamentations over the deceased, and chant his praises, like the Irish keeners, but also to cry; and their tears, it is understood, were collected into small vessels of glass, and this is termed, in some of the inscriptions found on the Continent, being "buried with tears," —*sepultus cum lacrymis*,—and the tomb is spoken of as being "full of tears," TVMVL LACRIM . PLEN.

The next ceremony was that of burning the body. The funeral pile, *pyra*, was built of the most inflammable woods, to which pitch was added, and other articles, which often rendered this part of the ceremony very expensive. An inscription, preserved by Grüter, speaks of some persons whose property was only sufficient to pay for the funeral pile and the pitch to burn their bodies—*nec ex eorum bonis plus inventum est quam quod sufficeret ad emendam pyram et picem quibus corpora cremarentur.* It had been ordered by a law of the Twelve Tables that the funeral pile must be formed of timber which was rough and untouched by the axe, but this rule was probably not very closely adhered to in later times.

When the body was laid on the pile, the latter was sprinkled with wine and other liquors, and incense, and various unguents and odoriferous spices were thrown upon it. It was now, according to some accounts, that the *naulum*, or coin for the payment of the passage over the Styx, was placed in the mouth of the corpse, and at the same time the eyes were opened. Fire was applied to the pile by the nearest relatives of the deceased, who, in doing this, turned their faces from it while it was burning; the kins

men and friends often threw into the fire various objects, such as personal ornaments, and even favourite animals and birds. When the whole was reduced to ashes, these were sprinkled with wine (and sometimes with milk), accompanied with an invocation to the *manes*, or spirit of the dead. The reader will call to mind the lines of Virgil:—

> "Postquam collapsi cineres, et flamma quievit,
> Reliquias vino et bibulam lavere favillam,
> Ossaque lecta cado texit Corynæus aëno."
>
> *Æn.* vi, 226.

The next proceeding indeed, was to collect what remained of the bones from the ashes, which was the duty of the mother of the deceased, or if the parents were not living, of the children, and was followed by a new offering of tears. Some of the old writers speak of the difficulty of separating the remains of the burnt bones from the wood ashes, and we accordingly find them usually mixed together. When collected, the bones were deposited in an urn, which was made of various materials. The urn, in Virgil, was made of brass, or perhaps of bronze. Instances are mentioned of silver, and even gold, being used for this purpose, as well as of marble, and those found in Britain are often of glass; but the more common material was earthenware. One of the performers in the ceremony, whose duty this was, then purified the attendants by sprinkling them thrice with water, with an olive branch, if that could be obtained, and the *præficæ* pronounced the word *Ilicet* (said to be a contraction of *Ire licet*, you may go.) Those who had attended the funeral thrice addressed the word *Vale* (farewell) to the manes of the dead, and departed. A sumptuous supper was usually given after the funeral to the relatives and friends.

In the case of people of better rank, the body was burnt on the ground which had been purchased for the sepulchre, but for the poorer people there was a public burning place, which

was called the *ustrina*, where the process was probably much less expensive, and whence the urn, containing the remains (*relliquiæ*) of the deceased was carried to be interred. The tombs of rich families were often large and even splendid edifices, with rooms inside, in the walls of which were small recesses, where the different urns were placed. None of the buildings of the tombs remain at Wroxeter, or, indeed, in any Roman cemetery in our island, but we can hardly doubt that such tombs did exist in the cemetery of Uriconium, and that they were scattered along the side of the Watling Street. At the spot marked A on our plan, the foundations of a small building were met with, which appeared to have consisted of an oblong square, with a rectangular recess behind, but the western portion of it has been destroyed by the process of draining. When opened, ashes and fragments of an urn were found in the inclosed space, so that it is not improbable that this may have been a tomb with a room. The inscribed stone found at B, not far from this spot, bears evidence, in its form and especially in the appearance of its reverse side, of having been fixed against a wall, probably over an entrance door; and the other inscribed stones, found here in the last century, had perhaps been placed in similar positions. The urn was perhaps here interred beneath the floor of the room.

In more than one case in the cemetery of Uriconium, the corpse was certainly burnt on the spot where the ashes were to be buried. At the place marked C in our plan, we found undoubted evidence of cremation in the grave. A square pit had been made, on the floor of which the funeral pile had been laid. My friend Mr. Samuel Wood, who was present when this pit was opened, remarked that the remains of the timber of the funeral pile still remained as it had sunk on the floor, and that the ends were unconsumed, and the earth underneath quite red from burning. Mr. Wood gathered up some fragments of melted glass among the ashes, the

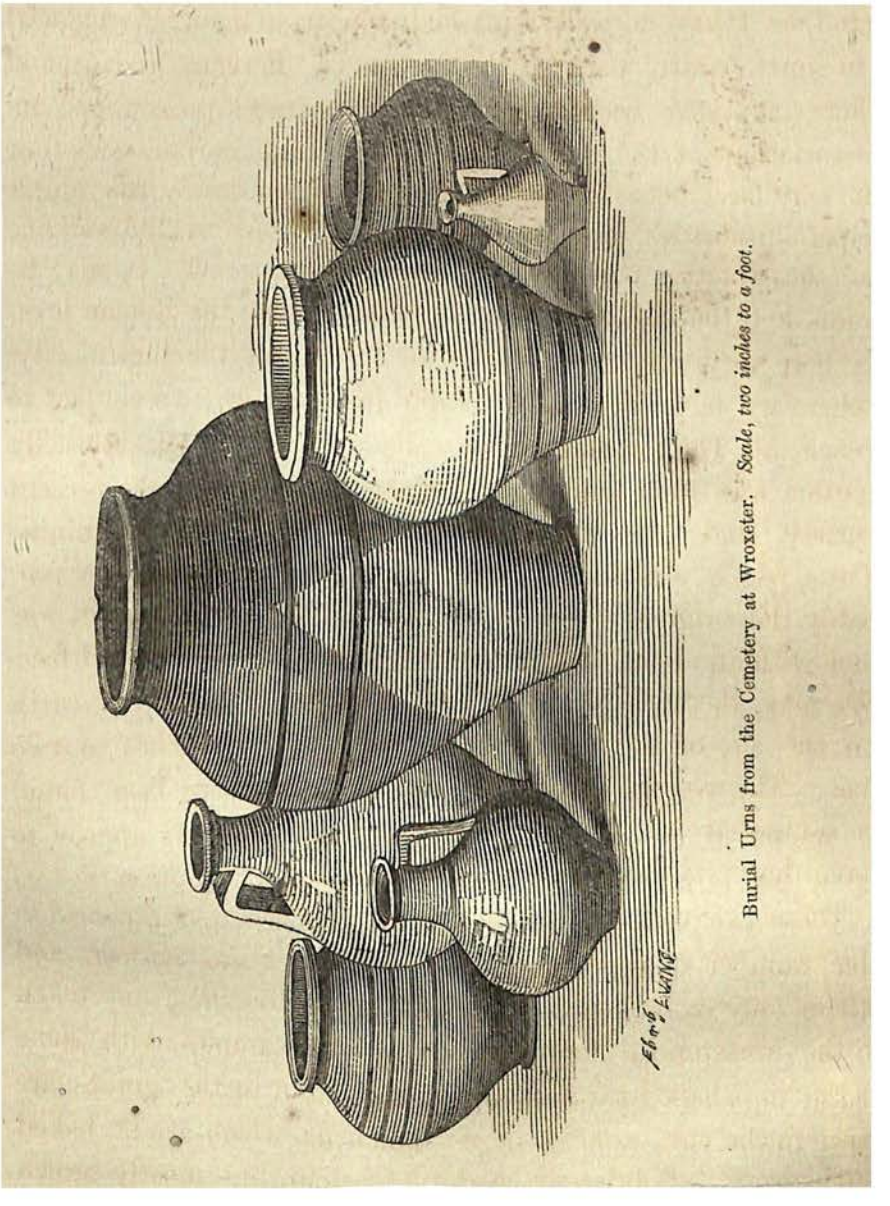
remains of some of the small vessels containing aromatics or unguents, which were thrown into the funeral fire, and he adds, in a letter on the subject written at the time of the discovery, "One curious point I noticed, that you could positively tell from which direction the wind was blowing at the time of combustion, as one side of the hole was quite burnt with all the wood; whereas on the opposite side, the ends of the fuel were there, with the one end only charred. The wind was in the west, W.S.W. This, of course, is quite unimportant; but one might venture a guess that it occurred in autumn, when the prevailing wind is from the west, or south-west." At the spot marked G in our plan, where considerable traces of Roman sepulchral interments were found in the garden of a cottage occupied by Miss Bythell, a similar pit was found, with this difference in its circumstances; in the former case, the soil into which the pit was cut is a clayey loam, which would itself form a tolerably firm wall; but the soil on the site of Miss Bythell's garden was a light and sharp sand which would crumble in unless supported. In this case, therefore, the pit, which was somewhat more that six feet square, was lined with clay, both bottom and sides, to a thickness of twelve or fourteen inches; and the heat of the fire had been so great, that the clay was baked quite through, and even the sand beyond it showed, in its changed colour and appearance, evident marks of the action of fire. Mr. Wood, who was also present immediately after this grave was opened, described it to me as having somewhat the appearance of a large square baked vessel. The remains of the corpse had been collected and deposited in a very large urn, which was placed upon some flat tiles, and supported and surrounded with clay and broken flue tiles. Under it was found a coin of the emperor Trajan, of the description termed by numismatists second brass.

In most of the other cases of interment yet discovered in the cemetery of Uriconium, a small hole or pit appears to

have been sunk in the ground, and the urn, as it had been no doubt brought from the *ustrina*, was placed in it and covered up. These interments were not far distant from each other, and, as I have already remarked, appear to have been placed in rows, nearly parallel to the road. Perhaps the ground here may have been bought for this purpose in common by associations of the townsmen—such as trade corporations; or it may have been set aside for burial purposes by the municipal authorities, and sold in small portions to individuals, as the practice now exists in modern cemeteries. It may be remarked that the accumulation of soil above the Roman level is here very much less than in the interior of the ancient city, where we have frequently to dig from ten to twelve feet to reach it. The top of the clay walls of the pit in Miss Bythell's garden was from fourteen to sixteen inches below the present surface, and the inscribed commemorative of Flaminius Titus, which was found lying on its face, on what was probably the original level of the ground, or very near it, was met with at about eighteen inches below the present surface. We may, therefore, probably reckon the accumulation of earth on the site of the cemetery at from eighteen inches to two feet. The average depth at which the urns have been found is somewhat less than four feet, so the Romans appear to have dug pits about two feet deep for their reception.

These excavations in the cemetery contributed a considerable number of sepulchral urns, many of them perfect, and others only so broken as to be easily put together, and taken to the Museum in Shrewsbury. A few examples, with some of the jug-shaped earthen vessels also found in the graves, are given in the cut on next page The urns, which are of baked earthenware, of different shades of colour, but mostly brown or red, are of coarse substance, but always more or less well-shaped, and they vary very much in size. The largest we have yet found is about eighteen inches high. The jug-shaped earthen vessels were perhaps used to contain some liquids

which were interred with the remains of the dead; but when found they were filled with earth.

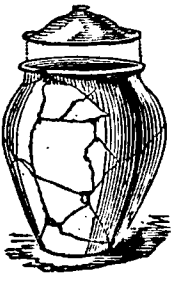


Burial Urns from the Cemetery at Wroxeter. *Scale, two inches to a foot.*

The examples here engraved present most of the usual forms of the sepulchral urn, but we sometimes meet with one

of a rarer and more curious shape. The cut given below, to the left, represents a fragment of a sepulchral urn pierced at the bottom with six holes, somewhat like a colander. It was found at a place called Burleigh, near Minchinhampton, in Gloucestershire, about the year 1845, and was broken by the workmen. When found it was filled with burnt bones and charcoal. Another curious urn was dug up at Colchester in the earlier part of the year 1845, which presented the peculiarity of having a lid. It was of a coarse greenish-grey pottery, and also contained calcined bones. This urn is represented in our next cut given below, to the right. But a

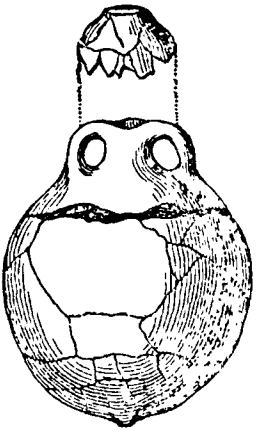
Roman Urn from Gloucestershire.



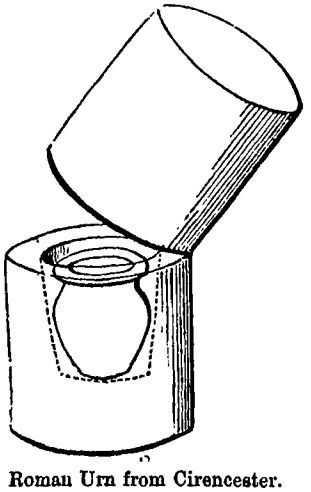
Roman Urn from Colchester.

rather remarkable peculiarity connected with this urn was the character of its receptacle. I have stated that usually the sepulchral urn, when filled, was merely placed in a hole in the ground, and covered with earth. Now and then we meet with a curious exception to this rule. In the Wroxeter Museum at Shrewsbury we have a sepulchral urn inclosed in a case made of lead, just like a man's hat in a hat box. This Colchester urn was found in the interior of a Roman amphora. This amphora, which was of large size, is represented in the cut in the margin of the next page. The upper part had been broken off, as shown by the line in the cut, and had been replaced after the urn and other articles were deposited in it, and the lower part of a broken sepulchral urn had been used

as a cover to it. The articles found in the interior were the urn just described, one of the vessels commonly called a lachrymatory, of pale green glass; a small lamp of coarse earthenware of a brick-red colour; another lamp, of finer material, and of a pale red colour; a number of fragments of oxidized iron, which appeared to have been nails; and a coin of the second brass, bearing the head of Faustina junior. In more than one instance, as at Avisford in Sussex, in 1817, the urn has been found inclosed in a sarcophagus of stone, such as those usually employed for the burial of corpses without cremation. A still more singular contrivance was found at Cirencester in the year 1848, and is represented in our cut. What offers the appearance of a portion of a shaft of a column, made of calcareous freestone, appears as if cut through, and then the lower part had been hollowed in the centre so as to form a receptacle for the urn. The latter contained burnt bones.



Roman Amphora from Colchester.



Roman Urn from Cirencester.

Certain other objects were by custom buried with the remains of the dead. In a former chapter † I have given a group of glass vessels and other articles found in the cemetery of Uriconium. We know, from allusions in some of the ancient writers, as from monumental inscriptions, that tears, unguents, and aromatics, were sometimes thrown on the funeral pile, and sometimes interred with the dead, deposited, as it may be sup-

† See before p. 258 of the present volume.

posed, in small vessels of glass. An inscription in Grüter describes the deceased as being "moistened with tears and balsam,"—EVM . LACHRIMIS . ET . OPOBALSAMO . VDVM. My readers will call to mind, also, the lines of Tibullus (Eleg. lib. iii, El. ii, line 19), in which he speaks of depositing with the dead the precious products of Arabia and Assyria, as well as the tears of relations and friends :—

"Et primum annoso spargant collecta Lyæo,
Mox etiam niveo fundere lacte parent.
Post hac carbaseis humorem tollere ventis,
Atque in marmorea ponere sicca domo.
Illic quas mittit dives Panchaia merces,
Eoique Arabes, dives et Assyria.
Et nostri memores lacrimæ fundantur eodem;
Sic ego componi versus in ossa velim."

These precious objects are supposed to have been contained in the small narrow glass phials which are so commonly found in the Roman graves, and to which, in the belief that they had contained only the tears of the mourners, antiquaries have given the name of *lachrymatories*. Experiments made by my friend Dr. Henry Johnson of Shrewsbury, upon the earth contained in some of these glass vessels which we dug up in the cemetery of Uriconium, seemed to confirm the belief that they were not merely receptacles of tears. In one of his letters to me at that time he writes :—"Respecting the lachrymatories, I have lately seen rather a confirmation of what you said of these having been filled with unguents, incense, or something of that kind, which would by heat yield much carbon or charcoal. I took two of these little glass vessels, which had dark matter in them, and which had never been emptied. I put some of the dark matter under the microscope, and I could see pure red grains of the sand of the field,* and intermixed with these many visible particles of pure black carbon,

* To explain this, it must be stated that the soil of the field, which is hardly two feet deep, lies upon a deep bed of pure sand, and that the interments had all been made in the sand, in which the urns and other objects were found.

evidently introduced artificially into the sand. On putting some of the soil into a platinum crucible, and heating it red-hot for a few minutes, *all* the charcoal was burnt away, and I got a pure red sand like that of the cemetery. The contents of these two vessels were quite black, though I have no doubt they were found deeper than the superficial covering of black mould: One of them had evidently been subjected to fire, so that the supposition that this had been filled with some unctuous oblation, and then acted on by heat in the funeral pile, is not at all improbable."

These glass vessels help to demonstrate that the same forms were observed by the Romans in Britain in their performance of the sepulchral rites as in Italy. Some of them are found greatly affected by fire, and have no doubt been on the funeral pile; others, on the contrary, are perfect, and have evidently never been in the fire, but were no doubt deposited with the urn. I have given examples of them in both conditions in the group above alluded to as presented in a former page. The one in the middle of the three to the right in the cut has been thus affected by the heat, in a less degree; but the other, lying on the ground beneath it, has been so much melted as to have lost its original shape.

A very usual accompaniment of Roman interments is the lamp, usually made of terra-cotta. There can be no doubt that, under the influence of sentiments with which we are but imperfectly acquainted, lamps were among the usual offerings to the dead, and that, when offered, they were filled with oil and lighted: Lamps were found in the tombs at Pompeii, where they appear to have been placed in the recesses of the walls by the side of the urns of the dead. Their frequent occurrence under such circumstances has given rise to a number of old legends of the finding of lamps still burning in the tombs of the ancients, who, according to mediæval story, had

invented a material for the lamp which, once lighted, would burn for ever. I might quote various proofs of the importance which was placed in the circumstance of burying a lamp with the dead. One epitaph, found at Salerno, and given in Grüter, which commemorates a lady named Septima, expresses, in what appears to have been intended for elegiac verse, the wish that whoever contributed a burning lamp to her tomb, might have a "golden soil" to cover his ashes:—

HAVE . SEPTIMA . SIT . TIBI
TERRA . LEVIS . QVISQ
HVIC . TVMVLO . POSVIT
ARDENTEM . LVCERNAM
ILLIVS . CINERES . AVREA
TERRA . TEGAT.

The lamp was no doubt burning when it was placed in the grave with the urn. Two lamps only have been found in our excavations in the cemetery of Uriconium. They are represented in our cut at page 258, and are of the same form which the Roman terra-cotta lamp almost invariably presents. In one of them the field is plain; in the other it is ornamented with the figure of a dolphin.

The same rarity which characterises the lamps in the Roman interments in our island, is also to be remarked in the Roman coins, of which only one has yet been met with in the cemetery by the Watling Street, a second brass of the emperor Claudius; and two in Miss Bythell's garden, one of Trajan, and the other of Hadrian. The coin of Trajan was found under the urn, and must therefore have belonged to the interment, and, as it bore distinct marks of having been exposed to the flames, it had evidently been burnt with the corpse. The early date of these coins is worthy of remark, and, though it does not necessarily prove the early date of the interment, it may perhaps assist in explaining their rarity. However

large may have been the amount of true Roman and Italian blood among the founders of the town, the number of the inhabitants was no doubt kept up and probably increased in after times by recruits from other countries, perhaps much of it German; and these strangers to Roman sentiments, when they accepted Roman manners and customs, may have neglected many of their minor details. Perhaps they were not convinced of the necessity of exporting the current coin of the realm, in however small quantities, to Hades, and they may have deliberately retained Charon's passage-fare. They may have also discontinued the practice of placing lamps in the grave, or it may only have been observed occasionally. It must at the same time be remarked, that single coins are the objects of all others most likely to escape the notice of the excavators.

Nearly all the graves, however, which were opened in the cemetery of Uriconium appeared to have contained the urns and small glass phials; and in some there were other vessels of glass and earthenware, and among the latter some interesting examples of the well-known Samian ware. A few of these are given in our engraving on page 258, just referred to. All these vessels have no doubt contained the offerings of the living to the *Manes*.

It may be worthy of remark, that the comparatively slow accumulation of earth on the site of the cemetery explains easily the almost total disappearance of its monuments which stood above ground. We learn from early writers, such as the historian Bede, that people resorted to the sites of the Roman cemeteries to seek for materials long before they began to break up the towns themselves, and as these materials must have lain for ages visible on the surface of the ground, and at the same time consisted probably of large and useful stones, they held out a stronger temptation to such depredators. Fortunately, the stones most likely to escape were those

which contained inscriptions, because the people who had succeeded the Romans entertained a profound feeling of dread of all inscriptions which they could not read, believing them to be dangerous magical charms. Hence we find, here and there, a single inscribed stone lying where it was thrown or dropped, when every other fragment of the monument to which in had belonged has disappeared. In some instances the inscription has been intentionally damaged or partly erased in the hope of destroying the charm.

I now proceed to describe all the known sepulchral inscriptions found at Wroxeter.

In the year 1752, men employed in digging a drain on the side of the bank of the cemetery, found the three inscribed stones represented at the top of our plate (figs. 1, 2, and 3). They are now carefully preserved in the library of Shrewsbury School. The first two, we are told, had been fastened by tenons into mortices cut into other stones that lay flat within, and they had been buried into the ground up to the tablets containing the inscriptions. The first of these inscriptions may be read without any difficulty, as follows:

C. MANNIVS	*Caius* Mannius,
C. F. POL. SECV	*Caii filius*, Pol*lia*, Secu
NDVS. POLLEN	ndus, Pollen*tia*,
MIL. LEG. XX	mile*s* leg*ionis* XX,
ANORV. LII	ann*orum* LII,
STIP. XXXI	stip*endiorum* XXXI,
BEN. LEG. PR	bene*ficiarius* leg*ati* pr*incipalis*,
H. S. E.	*hic situs est.*

It should probably be translated, "Caius Mannius Secundus, son of Caius, of the Pollian tribe, of Pollentia, a soldier of the twentieth legion, fifty-two years of age, having served thirty-one years, a beneficiary of the principal legate, lies here."*

* In the interpretation of this inscription I adopt the suggestion of Dr. M'Caul, the president of University College, Toronto, who published in the *Canadian Journal*, a series of papers upon Latin inscriptions found in Britain, which are well worthy of the attention of our antiquaries. Dr. M'Caul remarks upon one of the terms employed in this inscription, "The word

The second of these inscriptions may be read as follows :

M . PETRONIVS	*Marcus* Petronius,
L . F . MEN	*Lucii filius*, Men*enia*,
VIC . ANN	vic*sit* ann*is*
XXXVIII	XXXVIII,
MIL . LEG	mil*es* leg*ionis*
XIIII . GEM	XIIII gem*inæ*,
MILITAVIT	militavit
ANN . XVIII	ann*is* XVIII,
SIGN . FVIT	sign*ifer* fuit,
H . S . E.	*hic situs est.*

It may be translated, "Marcus Petronius, son of Lucius, of the Menenian tribe, lived thirty-eight years, a soldier of the fourteenth legion called Gemina ; he served as a soldier eighteen years, and was a standard-bearer ; he lies here." It must be remarked that the sixth line is now almost defaced by the fracture of the stone ; and not only has the x entirely disappeared, but the space would allow of XX.

Our third inscription is, perhaps, the most curious of them all, because it has been the ground of some rather considerable errors, arising partly from its not very perfect condition. It is divided into three columns or compartments, as will be seen in the engraving, the first of which appears to be as follows :

D . M	*Diis Manibus.*
PLACIDA	Placida,
AN . LV	an*norum* LV,
CVR . AG	cur*am* ag*ente*
CONI . A	conj*uge* *annorum*
XXX.	XXX.

i.e., "To the gods of the Manes. Placida, aged fifty-five ;

'principal,' as ordinarily used in English does not convey the meaning of *principalis* as applied to a Roman soldier. The Latin term means that the person so styled was one of the *principales*, a designation given to sub-officers or officials, in contradistinction to *munifices* or *gregarii*, which denoted the common soldiers or privates. (Vide *Veget. de Re Militari*, lib. ii, c. 7.)"

raised by the care of her husband, who had been her husband thirty years."

Former antiquaries have misinterpreted CVR.AG, as standing for *curator agrorum*, and have thus created a municipal officer unknown from any other authority. The error has been pointed out by Dr. M'Caul in the paper already alluded to; and it cannot be doubted that he is in the right. There may be some doubt with regard to the last two lines, as they are rather indistinct; but we shall perhaps be justified in retaining the A at the end of the fifth line, and the XXX in the sixth line, because, when the stone was first found, and the copy of the inscription made, these letters may have been more distinct than they are now.

The second column of this inscription may read—

D . M	*Diis Manibus.*
DEVCCV	Deuccu
S . AN . XV	s, an*norum* XV,
CVR . AG	cur*am* ag*ente*
RATRE.	*f*ratre.

i.e., "To the gods of the Manes. Deuccus, aged fifteen years; raised by the care of his brother." It has been suggested that the R at the beginning of the last line is a P *(patre)*; in which case it was the father of Deuccus, the husband of Placida, who had also buried his young son, and who thus might have left the third column blank for the reception of his own name, when he should have been laid beside his family. But the stone seems to present distinctly an R; and we may suppose that Deuccus had an elder brother, and that, dying while his father was perhaps absent or dead in some distant region, he was buried by his brother's care instead of that of his father.

Another inscribed stone (fig. 4 of our plate), but more broken than the others, was found, in 1810, on the side of

the same bank which furnished the three others, and is preserved with them in the library of Shrewsbury School. It may be read without much difficulty.

TIB . CLAVD . TER	Tib*erius* Claud*ius* Tere
NTIVS . EQ . COH	ntius, eq*ues* coh*ortis*
THRACVM . AN	Thracum, an*n*
ORVM . LVII . STIP	orum LVII, stip
ENDIORVM	endiorum.....
H . S.	h*ic situs est.*

i.e., "Tiberius Claudius Terentius, a horseman of the cohort of Thracians, aged fifty-seven years, having served ——, lies here." The letters which indicated the length of this man's service are no longer visible on the stone, which has suffered much injury. It has been assumed from this inscription, that the cohort of Thracian cavalry belonged to Uriconium; but, I think, without sufficient grounds. It would be very rash to take, at any time, the presence of a single tomb-stone as a proof that the body of troops to which the deceased had belonged, was stationed at that place, unless we had some other information to confirm it. Uriconium appears to have been a large city, which must have been frequented by strangers and visitors from all parts, some of whom no doubt died and were buried here. Our first inscription commemorates a soldier of the twentieth legion, which we know had its head-quarters at Deva (Chester); the second was raised over the body of a soldier of the fourteenth legion, which most probably was at that time on the continent. The tombstone of a horseman of this same body of Thracians has been found at Cirencester, the site of the Roman town of Corinium; and it is hardly probable that it was stationed at both places.

The fifth inscription on our plate is preserved in the Museum of the Shropshire and North Wales Natural History and

Antiquarian Society at Shrewsbury. Its history has not been very clearly ascertained; but there is reason for believing that it was brought from Italy, and that it has therefore no relation to Wroxeter. The letters are sufficiently distinct, and the words are unusually free of contractions. It may be read:—

D . M
ANTONIAE
GEMELLAE
DIADVMENVS
PIENTISSIMAE
FECIT.
VIXIT . ANNIS . XXXIII.

i.e., "To the gods of the Manes. Diadumenus erected this to Antonia Gemella, a most affectionate [wife]. She lived thirty-three years."

Fig. 6 of our plate is a mere fragment of what appears also to have been a sepulchral inscription; but it would be in vain to attempt an explanation.

The seventh inscription is also apparently a fragment, which is preserved in the garden of the vicarage. The words BONA REIPVBLICÆ NATVS are legible upon it, and formed, perhaps, part of an inscription commemorative of one of the later emperors.

More recently a fragment of an inscribed stone has been found in the excavations, having evidently been used for materials for building,—a circumstance of common occurrence in the Roman buildings in this country. It is represented on fig. 8 in our plate. The letters which remain upon it are distinctly . D . M., under which are traced, not less clearly, letters which appear to be ISVM. The D.M would be taken at once as indicating a tombstone; but it is still possible that these two letters may stand for *deo maximo;* and that this fragment

may have belonged to an altar dedicated to Jupiter, *Jovi* SVM*mo*, though the formula is more usually D . O . M., *i.e.*, *deo optimo maximo*.

But the most interesting of the inscriptions found at Wroxeter remains to be described. As I have already before stated, in the course of our excavations on the site of the cemetery of Uriconium in the autumn of 1861, the men came upon a large slab of stone which had evidently formed part of a sepulchral monument. It was the stone of the monument on which the inscription was cut, and above it had been a figure sculptured in high relief, of which the feet only remain. The inscription itself, which is now in the Museum at Shrewsbury, has been unfortunately much defaced, especially in the lower part, but, with conjectures at two or three of the letters, it has been partly read as follows:

AMINIVS . T . POL . F . A
NORVMXXXXVSTIPXXII . MIL . LEG
IIGEM . MILITAVITAQNVNC HIC SII
LEGITE . ET . FELICES . VITA . PLVS . MIN
IVSTAOMNI . QVA
TANARA . DITIS . VIVITE . DVM
VITAE . DAT . TEMPVS . HONES

The first three lines may be read without much difficulty—it is assumed that the two first letters were those of the word Flaminius, as Aminius is not found elsewhere as a Roman name.

*Fl*aminius T*iti* Pol*lionis filius an*
norum XXXXV, stip*endiorum* XXII, mile*s* leg*ionis*
VII gem*inæ*, militavit a*quilifer*, nunc hic sit*us est*

We learn from it that this was the tomb of Flaminius, son of Titus Pollio, a soldier of the seventh legion. The rest of the inscription is more difficult, for some of the letters are erased,

and several are very doubtful. It may be seen at once that it consists of hexameters, and professor M'Caul of Toronto has proposed the following reading :

Perlegite et felices vita plus minus justa ;
Omnibus æqua lege iter est ad Tænara Ditis.
Vivite, dum Stygius vitæ dat tempus honeste.

CHAPTER XI.

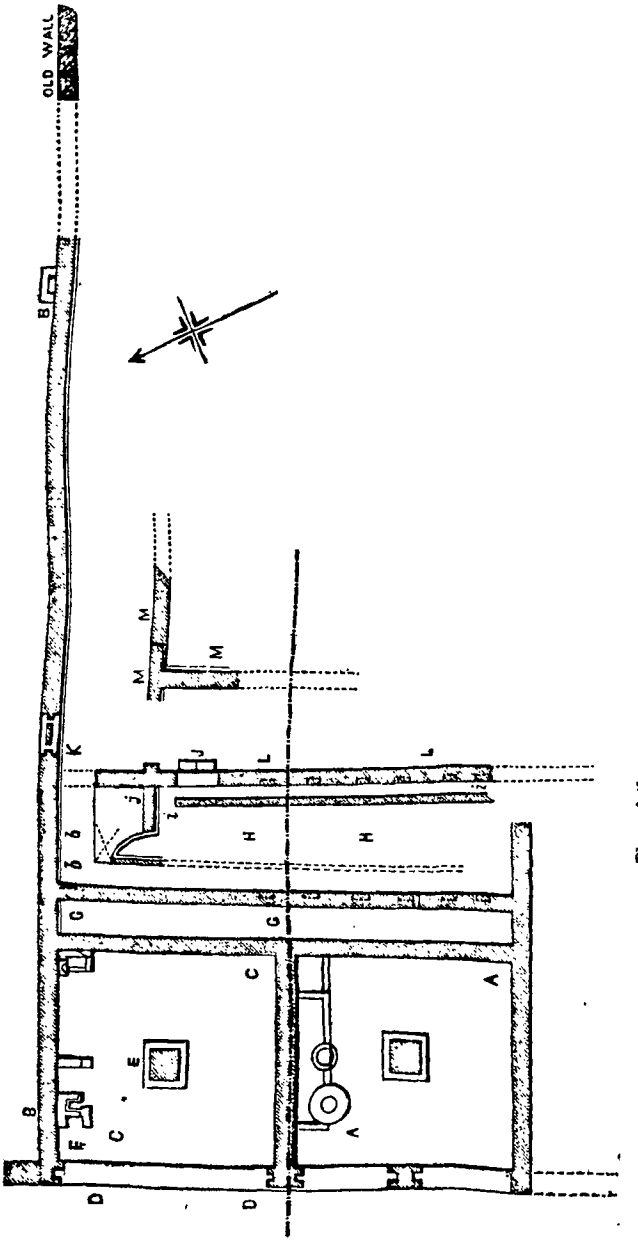
THE MOST RECENT EXCAVATIONS AT WROXETER.

AFTER the discoveries described in the preceding chapters, the excavations were discontinued during several years, chiefly in consequence of want of funds. This state of things continued until the summer of the year 1867. In the autumn of that year the British Archæological Association held its annual congress at Ludlow, and in anticipation of that event my esteemed and liberal friend, Mr. Joseph Mayer, of Liverpool, whose services to archæology are so well known, sent a contribution of fifty pounds towards new excavations at Wroxeter, which had been selected as the place to be visited by the Association on one of the days of the meeting. The results of the researches pursued with Mr. Mayer's gift possess considerable interest. They will be better understood by reference to the following plan, drawn by our artist, Mr. Hillary Davies.

In a former chapter,* I have described traces of a room adjoining that which we called the Enameller's Shop, and I have there stated the reason which had induced us to leave it unexplored. It was my wish that we should begin the new excavation by uncovering this room, and this was agreed to, and a few men were set to work upon it. They soon found that it was a square room, of nearly the same dimensions as the Enameller's Shop, and closely resembling it in

* See before p. 164 of the present volume.

other particulars. In the annexed plan the Enameller's Shop is marked by the letters AA, while CC marks the



Plan of the most recent Excavations at Wroxeter.

room to which I am now calling attention. It extended from the northern wall of the former to the southern

boundary wall of the Basilica, (the continuation of the Old Wall), which formed its northern side. This room also proved to have been a workshop of objects in metal, and has in its centre a square platform of masonry similar in dimensions and character, and no doubt intended for the same purpose, as that in the middle of the Enameller's Shop. In one corner of this room we find the remains of a low flight of steps, which appear to have been connected with some raised place for work, and at the other end of this side of the apartment, at F, there is an irregular block of building, which has evidently been a furnace. Here many fragments of vitrified earthy and metallic substances, or slag, were found scattered about, and not far from the furnace lay the bowl end of an iron ladle, which had evidently been used for melting. The present floor of this apartment consists, as was the case at least in a great part of the former chamber, of pure red sand, over which lay formerly another floor of concrete, about eight inches thick, which, however, has been removed. Fragments of pottery, and various other objects of little importance, were found in digging into this apartment, and among them several Roman coins in large bronze, including specimens of the emperors Trajan and Hadrian and of the empress Faustina. This room is marked CC in the plan.

Adjoining this room, to the east, was a long room (GG in the plan), which had been opened to some extent in our former excavations, but it was now entirely cleared out. It is five feet wide at one end and six at the other, and seventy-one feet long. It separates the room I have been describing from the room which has been supposed to represent public latrinæ.* About fifteen feet from the narrowest end of the inclosure GG, and two feet six inches below the level of the adjoining chamber, there is a singular opening

* See pp. 147, 148, of the present volume.

in the wall, ten inches high and six inches wide. "The contents of this chamber or pit," Dr. Johnson observes, "were very peculiar, and unlike common soil. On analysis, they yielded distinct traces of ammonia, and a considerable quantity of alkaline phosphates. Traces of ammonia and phosphates might be expected in garden soil or in that of the surface of a well-manured field; but I think the abundant presence of these matters in earth taken from a depth of several feet is almost a proof of my conjecture that this was a cess-pool; and it is another confirmation of this conclusion that it would receive the overflowings of the adjacent latrinæ by the opening which I have described. In this pit, or cess-pool, if I may so designate it, many curious things were picked up. Among them was a bronze head of a lion, very well made, which had probably been the hilt of a sword or dagger; and a beautiful red cornelian signet-ring, with an engraved device, in intaglio." This device will be seen in the accompanying cut. It represents two parrots standing on blocks or perches, with their beaks approaching each other over a vase placed in the centre of the design.*

Signet Ring found at Wroxeter.

After opening out this ancient cess-pool, the excavation in the latrinæ was continued, and the results have fully comfirmed the justice of the name we formerly gave to this part of the buildings. The long interrupted black line in the plan marks the division between the ground excavated on the former occasion, and that which was uncovered in these more recent excavations. I will here again speak in the words of Dr. Johnson, who was a much more continuous observer of these new operations than myself. "On the one side of the paved floor (the

* It is to be regretted that this signet ring was stealthily carried away from the Museum at Shrewsbury by a visitor who happened to be present when it was brought, before it could be placed in the case designed for it.

herring-bone pavement described before), and at a lower level, there is a very well formed and deep narrow drain *(ii)*, part of which was discovered and laid open in our excavations. After it was made, there appears to have been some alteration or repair necessary, and a cross-wall has been built right across it *(j)*, and it is not easy to discover how or where it emptied itself. But to our great surprise, we found, on digging down towards the foundation of the wall of the Basilica at *bb*, at a depth of about nine feet, that instead of a solid wall we got into a regular drain or sewer, so large that one might creep up it for some distance each way. There is no doubt that the drain *(ii)* just mentioned, and one which was discovered and still remains open in the Public Baths, have both terminated in this great trunk. On the other side of the herring-bone pavement, deep in this ground, we traced a small wall running near the outer wall of this apartment. There is no doubt, therefore that there was a drain on this side as on the other, and I have already stated that there is a free passage from this drain into the great cess-pool *bb*. Before making the recent excavations, no doorway to the latrinæ (HH) was known, but now a good and wide one, with two well-made steps, much worn, has been uncovered (JJ). Some other walls to the east of this building, especially about MM, have been laid open, but nothing definite has been made out."

I had formerly supposed that the latrinæ had been entered from the passage on the south side of the Basilica, by a doorway which we discovered in the walls, with its step, at an earlier period of our excavations. It is now shown, however, that this doorway, which has been uncovered at K, led into what seems to be a prolongation of the Ambulatorium of the Baths, and that it was from this open space that the latrinæ were entered by the steps and passages at *ii*.

Such are, briefly described, the results of the last exca-

vations on the site of Uriconium. The buildings which now remain uncovered, and which we have permission to keep open permanently, may thus be described as follows. They cover a square piece of ground nearly 260 feet from east to west, and about 180 from north to south. To the north it is bounded by the wall of the Roman Basilica, and southward it was separated by a street from the masses of private habitations. All the eastern portion of the inclosed space forming nearly a square of little less than 200 feet, constituted no doubt the public baths of Roman Uriconium. The line of walls forming the western boundary of the buildings uncovered, and running along the line of the Watling Street Road, formed the eastern side of the Roman Forum, and the space between this line and the buildings of the Baths, contained first, on the south, a Market Place, which has been fully described in a former chapter; next, an opening surrounded apparently with walls but which has not yet been uncovered; beyond this, the two shops described in this present chapter, the last of which joined to the walls of the Basilica; and, finally, the public latrinæ and other conveniences which filled up the space between the shops and the walls of the Baths. In all this we have a very wonderful illustration of the history and condition of a great town in Britain under the Roman government, and one, the importance of which, in the light it throws upon the political and social history of our island under the Romans, cannot be over-estimated. But we have still only a small part of the historical information which we shall, no doubt, gain as the excavations on the site of the ancient city advance further.

END.

APPENDICES.

APPENDIX No. I.

ON THE DATE OF THE DESTRUCTION OF URICONIUM, AND ON THE POET LLYWARCH HEN.

(See p. 70 of the present volume).

SOME portion of the text of the present volume to which this Appendix refers, was printed a few years ago as an extract in one of the volumes of the *Archæologia Cambrensis*, where it provoked a rather rude attack from the pen of Mr. Stephens, of Merthyr Tydvil. Mr. Stephens applied to my arguments an elaborate criticism couched in terms and in a form which provoked me to be a little more severe in my reply than is customary with me, but I think it well to reprint it here nearly as it was written.

I will not enter into any examination of Mr. Stephens's introductory remarks on the principles of criticism, because there are many questions involved in them. A wise man believes in nothing until he has satisfied himself that it is truth. This is the ground of all criticism. When a literary production professing to be ancient, is found only in a modern manuscript, it has always been assumed that the test of its authenticity must be sought in internal evidence; and that is the only test to which I appeal. The evidence which I have adduced against the poem of Llywarch Hen would have been fatal to any book pretending to be an authentic monument of classical antiquity. Perhaps Mr. Stephens has forgotten that there was a certain Greek of late date, who took into his head to personate the tyrant Phalaris, and to write letters in his name, in which people believed

until the mask was torn from the imposter in a very satisfactory manner by one of our greatest classical scholars. It is one of many cases in point. We shall see how far Mr. Stephens has weakened my evidence against Llywarch Hen by his examination of it. I will also pass over his remarks on the antiquity of rhymes, because I do not think he has added anything new to the subject, and I had not adopted it as a part of the argument I adduced against the poem in question. With this same desire of saving space, I offer no introductory remarks of my own, but will proceed at once to the examination of the strictures of Mr. Stephens on my evidence, which rested chiefly on the fact that the writer of this poem knew localities only by the modern forms of their Anglo-Saxon names, and that he misunderstood and mistranslated these in a manner which could only be done by one living about the beginning of the fifteenth century, or perhaps a little earlier. I cannot say that Mr. Stephens is very fortunate in the first case he handles. He says—

"Mr. Wright asserts that 'Y drev Wen,' or 'white town,' of the poem, is a translation from Wittington; and that the latter does not signify a 'white town,' but the residence of a family of Withingas or Wittingas. For this we have only the assertion of Mr. Wright, and are asked to accept that as being all-sufficient; but I for one desiderate something more. The correspondence between the Welsh and English names far outweighs, in my judgment, the denial of Mr. Wright; and renders it of but little, if any, value unless he can support it by specific evidence that there were Wittingas in this locality. He must, moreover, prove them to have been numerous; for there are similar names in many other places, and we should have to conclude that not only two other places in Shropshire, Whitchurch, and Whittington, near Oswestry, but also Whitby, Whitehaven, Whithern, and Whitchurch, in Glamorganshire, and many other places, are so called from families of Wittingas. Several of these names occur where the Saxons never were; of others we know the origin to be quite different; and with reference to the case in question, we happen to have a parallel instance where there can be no doubt of the priority of the Welsh name. When Howel Dda was about to revise the laws of Wales, he summoned the learned men of the Principality to meet at *Y Ty Gwyn ar Dav.* This name appears in the oldest MS. of the Welsh Laws, which is

affirmed by Mr. Aneurin Owen to be as old as the early part of the twelfth century,—in fact, the oldest Welsh in existence (Preface, p. xxvi. *Laws* pp. iii. and iv.); but the place is now only known under the English name of Whitland. Here it is evident that the Flemish settlers in Pembrokeshire have translated the older Kymric name; and it is to me equally clear that Wittington, 'between the Tern and Rodington" [the Roden ?], is a Saxon name for

'Y drev wen rhwng Tren a Throdwydd.'"

I feel a little difficulty in meeting this first assault on my position. If you should tell a person who had not been instructed in astronomy that an eclipse of the moon was caused by the position of the earth between its satellite and the sun, and he should reply that he had only "your assertion" for it, which he would not accept, you might perhaps think the reply rather rude, but would probably recommend him to learn astronomy. I am sorry to say that, in the present case, it is the best answer I can give to Mr. Stephens. Let him go and learn the subject; and for this purpose I can recommend him very conscientiously the chapter on "The Mark" in Kemble's *Saxons in England*. Any one acquainted with the Anglo-Saxon language and the antiquities of the Anglo-Saxons, knows that all these names ending in "-ington," "-ingham," etc., are formed of patronymics of families or clans, and form a very important characteristic of the primitive Teutonic system in the distribution of land. I have said nothing about any "Wittington," for there is no place so called between the Tern and the Roden. The place alluded to by the composer of this Welsh Elegy is Withington. It is a name which, like that of Whittington also, has no relation whatever to Whitchurch, or Whitby, or Whitehaven, or Whitland, or any name of place which is designated by the epithet "white," although it is evident that this Welsh translator of it thought that it had. His mistake was one into which most people fell during the centuries which followed the Norman period; but Mr. Stephens is mistaken in supposing that I am answerable for the discovery of the truth. The error was excusable in the pretended Llywarch Hen, as he had nobody to teach him better; but it is not excusable in his modern champion, who could so easily have made himself acquainted with the truth

"Withington" signifies the "tun" or inclosed place (residence or not) of the Withingas; "Whittingham," the home or manor house of the Wittingas. Kemble, in his tables of "Marks," has both these names. The Withingas are found in places named Withington in Gloucestershire, Herefordshire, Shropshire, Cheshire, Lancashire, and Staffordshire; the Wittingas in places named Whittington in Gloucestershire, Worcestershire, Warwickshire, Staffordshire, Shropshire, Lancashire, Northumberland, Derbyshire, and Norfolk; and in Whittingham in Lancashire and Northumberland. In this first case, therefore, instead of "having disposed of my arguments," as he asserts rather confidently, Mr. Stephens has run his head into a blunder by rashly engaging in a subject with which he had not first made himself acquainted. There can be no doubt whatever that the so-called Llywarch Hen's "Y drev Wen" is a mere mistranslation of Withington.

In my remarks to which Mr. Stephens's criticisms refer, I had said:

"The writer of this Elegy further tells us that 'the sod of Ercall is on the ashes of fierce men of the progeny of Morial':

'Tywar, cen Ercal ar âr dywal
Wyr, o edwedd Morial.'

This is also an Anglo-Saxon name, and the bard seems not to have been aware that the modern Ercal was only a corruption of the original name of Ercalewe or Arcalewe,—meaning, of course, Erca's 'low'; and this name is constantly found from the time of the *Domesday Survey* to near the end of the fourteenth century, before which period the corrupted form of the word could hardly have been used. A writer of the age ascribed to Llywarch Hen could not have known the name at all; and if he had written at any time after the name existed, and before the fourteenth century, he would have known it better."

To this I added in a note,—

"It is probable, from the name, that there was a large 'low,' or sepulchral tumulus, at Ercal, which gave rise to the minstrel's notice of the "fierce men" having been buried there; but in all probability it was a Roman barrow."

It appears to me that the meaning of these lines is sufficiently clear, and I cannot imagine how anybody could make out of them

the confusion and nonsense which are contained in the following criticism: a confusion which I will not attempt to unravel any further than by observing that Mr. Stephens has made me find things in *Domesday*, and make other statements, of which I never dreamt:—

"Mr. Wright remarks that Ercal is an Anglo-Saxon name; that it is a corruption of Erca's-low, or burial-mound; that Erca's-low was not really Erca's-low at all, but a Roman barrow; and that this name Erca, or Arca (Mr. Wright uses both), is frequently found in the time of the *Domesday Survey*, and from thence to the end of the fourteenth century, 'before which period the corrupted form of the word could hardly have been used' by the author of *Marwnad Cyndyllan*. Let us examine these assertions. We are first told that Ercal in its entirety, including the final *l*, is an Anglo-Saxon name; then, in the same breath, that it is not a true Saxon name, but a corruption of an imaginary Saxon phrase; which phrase, in its turn, is assumed to be an imaginary and erroneous description of an imaginary Roman barrow; and finally, that Erca and Ercal are identical names! After this curious reasoning and final begging of the question, Mr. Wright takes a leap of four centuries, and finds the name Ercad, not Ercal, in the *Domesday Survey*. Thence he concludes the name is Saxon, that it could not have been British, and that it could not have been named by Llywarch Hen. This, again, is very singular argument. It is as cogent as if we were to say that the name David occurs as the author of the Psalms, that David Jones is a common name in Wales; *ergo*, that David is an exclusively Welsh name, and that the Psalms are forgeries. But to meet Mr. Wright more directly. I deny that the names Erca and Ercal are identical, and that the occurrence of the name Erca in *Domesday Book* is conclusive evidence of its Saxon character. The presumption is, that neither Erca nor Ercal were Saxon names; for during the six centuries of Saxon domination these names do not once occur," etc., etc.

I can go on copying no longer matter so wide of the question, or so little matter of fact. As will be seen in my original observations upon Ercal, I have found none of these names in *Domesday Book*; and when Mr. Stephens examines that record he will not find them there. He says that there was a Welsh chief named *Aircol*, and that there was another called *Airgol*. I may add that

there is a chief called the Duke of *Argyll* at the present day, who has quite as much to do with the name of Ercall as the two worthies mentioned by Mr. Stephens. The latter goes on to say,—

"Moreover, Mr. Wright is involved in this further difficulty. The poet says that 'the sod of Ercal covers the *ashes* of brave men'; but cremation was not practised *after the Norman conquest*, neither were men buried under tumuli. He has endeavoured to evade the force of this objection by saying that the barrow was probably Roman; but he thereby destroys his own argument. And further, there must have been two Roman barrows, and both misnamed; for there are two Ercals in Shropshire,—High Ercal and Child's Ercal. Here again Mr. Wright misses the mark."

Why Mr. Stephens supposes that I believe in cremation "after the Norman conquest," I cannot even guess; but I am quite aware that there are two Ercalls, and I could even oblige Mr. Stephens with a third; though I am not aware that there is anything remarkable in the fact of several places bearing the same name. And I have no objection to the two barrows; for I believe there may have been more than two within these two Ercalls, inasmuch as there was a place called Shurlow in High Ercall. As Mr. Stephens appears to be astonished at the variations in forms of names, I have no objection to indulge him in a few more. At various dates the name of High Ercall appears in records under the following forms. I have only selected a few examples from many:

Archelou, *Domesday*	Herkelawe, 1208	Erkalue, 1256
Ercalou, 11*th cent.*	Hercalewe, 1229	Erkalwe, 1271
Harchaloua, 1141	Ercalue, 1235	Erkelewe, 1272
Herchaluu, 1160	Ercalew, 1240	Ercalwe, 1300
Arcalun, 1164	Erkalewe, 1245	Ercaluwe, 1315
Ercalew, 1175, 1186	Ercalowe, 1249	Ercalwe, 1331
Erkalewe, 13*th cent.*	Ercalew, 1253	Ercalowe, 1387
Harcalua, 1212	Hercalue, 1255	Ercalwe, 1397

I think it necessary to give a still smaller selection of examples with regard to Little or Child's Ercall:

Arcalun, *Domesday*	Hercalewe, 1255	Erkalewe, 1280
Arkelau, 1200	Erkalue, 1272	Ercalewe, 1339

The *Arcalun* of 1164 in the first list, and of the *Domesday Survey* in the second, are no doubt errors of the Norman scribes, who mistook a *u* for an *n*. Now anybody who has even but a small acquaintance with the Anglo-Saxon language, and any acquaintance with the topographical momenclature of Shropshire and Herefordshire, knows that all these forms represent a pure Anglo-Saxon form like Erce-hlæw or Erca-hlæw. The meaning of the second part of this compound word is indisputable; and it is, in its English form "low," one of the most common terminations of our local names, such as Ludlow, Munslow, Wormlow, etc. Such names are very common in Shropshire and Herefordshire, because the large sepulchral mounds from which they arose, were and are scattered thickly over those two counties. As far as my researches have gone, I believe them to be all of the Roman period. With the first part of the word there is more difficulty, which is often the case with the attempt to explain these early names of places; but when Mr. Stephens asserts so positively that it is not Saxon, I fear he oversteps a little the limits of his knowledge; for the first book I take up, Kemble's *Codex Anglo-Saxonicus*, gives me an Anglo-Saxon charter which mentions a place named Erce-combe in the heart of the kingdom of Wessex. The circumstances which gave rise to the name are now often forgotten. Wormlow means the "dragon's tumulus"; and there was no doubt connected with it a legend of a dragon. Ludlow was supposed to be the "mound of the people," either because a rather numerous population had settled round, or because people resorted (perhaps for some sort of celebrations) to the hill on which it stood; but it has now been discovered that the Saxon name of the place was *Lude*, and that its name signifies the "low of Lude." The first part of our name may have been *erc* or *arc*, a chest or coffer (an ark). I believe that many, if not most, of the sepulchral deposits in these "lows" have been originally placed in wooden chests which have perished through the effects of time; and the discovery of the chest in a barrow might have given it its distinctive name. But still I am more inclined to think that Erca or Arca represents a man's name, which may be that of some early proprietor of the spot, or a mythic name. Mr. Stephens assumes very wrongly that I imagined it to be the name of the man who was buried in it. This, however, is plain,

that Ercall is only a late corruption of the mediæval name, and that the compiler of the Elegy only knew it in this late corrupted form.

Mr. Stephens goes on to say:

"The next objection is to the name 'Frank,' where the poet says, 'the Frank would not have a word of peace from the mouth of Caranmael.' These Franks, says Mr. Wright, were the Frenchmen or Anglo-Normans. This passage has always occasioned doubts as to the antiquity of this verse; but it is by no means so assailable as it seems. The Franks and Saxons in their early incursions *were always in alliance.* Carausius, it will be found, was appointed to defend the *coasts of Britain* from the attacks of both; and when he usurped the empire of Britain, he took them into his service. He reigned chiefly by *the help of Frankish* warriors. (Lappenberg, *History of England,* i. 45.) Again, his successor, Allectus, *availed himself largely of these allies,* as we learn from Eumenius' address to Constantius:

" 'Such, invincible Cæsar, was the consent of the immortal gods upon your achievements, that your destruction of the enemy, and especially of those of them who were Franks, became most signal and complete; for when those of your soldiers, who had been separated by a fog from the others, arrived at the town of London, they put to death in the streets of that city a large number of that mercenary multitude who had fled thither from the battle, and hoped to escape and bear with them the plunder of that city.'

"The defeat of Allectus took place in the West, probably at *Campus Ælecti,* or Maesaleg in Monmouthshire. Would it be an absurdity to suppose that some of them fled northward and settled themselves on the Welsh border? Half a century later, namely in 364, we find that the Franks and Saxons infested the coast of Gaul (Ammian. Marcellin., xxvii. 8), and *probably of Britain also.* If they did this during the Roman occupation, would they be less likely to do so when the legions were withdrawn? As they had been in alliance with the Saxons up to that time, would they not be likely to participate with them in the conquest of Britain? Lappenberg thinks they did. 'Of the participation of the Franks there exist some, though not sufficiently specific accounts. The same may be observed of the Longobards. Little doubt can, how-

ever, be entertained regarding either the one or the other, as we elsewhere, in similar undertakings, find Saxons united with Franks and Longobards.' (*History of England*, i. 99.) As a necessary consequence, the earlier settlers would be forced westwards, and we accordingly ought not to be surprised to find Franks on the Welsh border. That there was such a settlement in Shropshire is all but certain; for do we not find *even now a Franktown*,—an English Frankton and a Welsh Frankton—in the very district to which the Elegy of Cynddylan refers. The occurrence of the name Frank indicates an unsuspected historic fact. It is not a reason for denying the antiquity of the poem."

There is so much confusion and historical blunder in all this, that I have thought it best to repeat Mr. Stephens's observations in full; and I will endeavour to give him a little more information than he seems to possess about the Franks. Dr. Lappenberg did think that the Franks took some part in the invasion of Britain; but he would not have thought so if he had examined his authorities more carefully; and Mr. Stephens has made a number of statements which Lappenberg could not have made, and for which there is no authority whatever. In the time of Carausius the Franks had only newly advanced from the interior of Europe, had reached the banks of the Rhine, and were pressing hard upon the frontier of the Roman province of Gaul. The Romans, according to their practice in the decline of the empire, endeavoured to avert their hostility by taking them into their pay and giving them lands, and only made them more dangerous. It is hardly necessary to say that the Franks were not seamen; but when they came upon the Rhine and the Scheldt they soon saw the advantage of predatory excursions in boats, by which they could come quickly and unexpectedly on any point of attack; and they were very glad to ally themselves, with the Saxons, who were the best and boldest sailors in the world, and thus extend their ravages along the coasts of Gaul, which was the province on which their eyes were riveted. The emperor appointed Carausius to the command of a fleet to protect the coasts of Belgian and Armorican Gaul against these attacks. Eutropius says: "*Per tractum Belgicæ et Armoricæ ...quod Franci et Saxones infestabant*"; and Orosius, "*Oceani littora, quæ tunc Franci et Saxones infestabant.*" "*Oceani littora*" of course meant the coasts of

the Continent. The naval station of Carausius for this purpose was Boulogne. There is not the slightest intimation that the coasts of Britain were attacked or threatened; and it is not likely that the Franks, who were unaccustomed to the sea, should go out upon it in search of adventures, when all their designs were upon Gaul. Mr. Stephens seems to forget that the empire usurped by Carausius included Gaul as well as Britain; and that in fact Gaul, in face of Rome, formed at first the most important part of it. He had there naturally taken the Franks into his pay; and it was there, if anywhere, that he reigned chiefly by them. When he was driven from Boulogne by Constantius, it appears from the account of Eumenius that he carried with him to Britain a body of Frankish troops, which remained with his murderer and successor, Allectus. The naval station, and the head quarters of these usurpers, was in the Southampton Water, —no doubt at Bittern,—and it was there that Constantius went to seek them. The notion that the battle took place to the west, in Monmouthshire, is a mere stroke of the imagination. It is quite clear from the narrative of Eumenius, who lived at the time, and must have been perfectly well acquainted with these transactions, that Allectus retreated from Southampton towards London, with the intention of plundering that city, and then escaping to the Continent; that he was overtaken before he reached that place; and that the battle took place so near to it that the victorious troops of Constantius entered the town along with, or immediately after, the fugitives. The former appear to have wreaked their vengeance especially upon the Frankish auxiliaries of the usurper; and this is the only known instance of Franks having been introduced into this island during the Roman period. There is no authority whatever for stating that the Franks and Saxons had been *always* in alliance, or that they had ever joined in the invasion of Britain.

But Mr. Stephens finds a proof of their presence on the Welsh border in the name of Franktown. I can add to *his evidence* on this point, that there is a Frankwell (anciently and correctly Frankville) adjoining to Shrewsbury; and I am afraid, if we trace the Franks by such names, we might find them all over the island. But Mr. Stephens has fallen into a very singular mistake; and I fear that I must venture upon offering him a little information on mediæval antiquities. The feudal princes and great barons of the

middle ages soon learnt to appreciate the value to their treasuries of encouraging commerce on their domains. It was the best way of obtaining that rare and important article in the middle ages—cash. Hence they tried to draw merchants to their lands by establishing little towns with freedom and privileges, either commercial or sometimes municipal, by which they might be attracted; and such places were usually denominated in France by the name of a *francheville*, or free town. In England, where the Anglo-Norman dialect and the English were oddly intermixed, the form which the name took was Frankville or Frankton. On the borders of Wales, where two hostile races met, and at the same time felt the need of commercial intercourse, such privileged towns were especially necessary; and Frankwell held such a position in regard to Shrewsbury, and Frankton for Ellesmere. The latter is called Franchetone in the *Domesday Survey*. The names had not the slightest relation to any Franks who had come from Germany with the Anglo-Saxons, and who had helped to destroy Uriconium. Much more absurd would it be to suppose that there were Frankish troops engaged in Shropshire against the Welsh in the sixth century, when, according to some, Llywarch Hen flourished; or in the seventh, when he flourished, according to Mr. Stephens. Moreover, it is evident from the Elegy that these were permanent and much hated enemies.

But if Mr. Stephens will take the trouble to look over the *Domesday Survey* for the border counties, he will understand how the Franks came on the borders of Wales; and in the Welsh records of the three or four centuries following, he will see whom the Welsh understood by the *Franks* they hated so much. I need only refer to almost every page of the useful edition of the *Chronicle of Caradoc of Llancarvan*, given with the same number of the *Archæologia Cambrensis*, in which Mr. Stephens's remarks appear. It is quite evident that when the composer of this Elegy used the name of Franks, he was thinking of the Norman barons; and that he could not, therefore, be a man who lived in the sixth or seventh century.

We may draw from all this a moral which might, perhaps, deserve the attention of Mr. Stephens, that any one who intends to write critically should not take his autorities at second hand,

and on the representations of others, but study them with care in the originals.

Mr. Stephens has discovered that the Tren of the composer of the Elegy is a different place from Uriconium. He asks,—"As Uriconium is on the banks of the Severn, would not the author of the poem have named it Havren rather than Tren; the latter river being further from it,—in fact, half a mile away?" I answer, without hesitation, No! Towns rarely took their names from a large river, unless they stood at its mouth; but usually from a small one. A large river like the Severn gives no name distinctive of the locality of the town; and there might be twenty different places with an equal claim to the same name. But the objection is met at once by the fact that nearly all our old topographers speak of Uriconium as standing near, or at, the confluence of the Tern with the Severn; and that was evidently the reason why the composer of the legend called it Tren. After some other remarks of no importance, Mr. Stephens proceeds:

"Mr. Wright has here fallen into three errors; for it so happens that the poet did know Uriconium under its proper designation; that he names Tren as a distinct and different town; and that he locates it to the north and west of the Tern, and not half a mile southward. He gives us to understand that the enemy who destroyed Tren *crossed*, or came through, the Tern,—evidently from the east. Here, then, the critic, so far from convicting the poet of ignorance, has only exhibited his own mistakes. He has moreover missed a conclusive argument in favour of his own view of the date of the destruction of Uriconium; for not only did the poet know this Roman town by its proper designation, but he also bears distinct testimony to the fact that it was then a ruin,—that in the first half of the seventh century Uriconium was a city of the past. It is singular that so significant a verse as the following should have been overlooked:

"'Neúr Syllais o Ddinlle Vrecon
Freuer werydre
Hiraeth am dammorth brodyrdde.'

Have I not gazed from the site of the city of Wrecon
Upon the lands of Freuer,
With sorrow for brotherly support.

I can assure Mr. Stephens that I had not overlooked these verses; but I was fully convinced, as I am still convinced, that they had no relation to Uriconium. *Din-lle*, says Mr. Stephens, means a place where a city had been. If he will take the trouble of going up to the top of the Wrekin, which is enclosed with ancient and strong entrenchments, he will have no difficulty in understanding what the composer of the Elegy meant by "the site of the city," and why the composer chose that spot for overlooking the lands of anybody which lay within a considerable distance around. I am not aware what Welsh name there may be for the Wrekin; but it is singular enough that the bard who has personated Llywarch Hen has got hold of the Anglo-Saxon name of it, which was Wrecon and Wrecen. This is surely a reply to Mr. Stephens's odd remark in an earlier part of this paper,—"Welshmen do not know any difficulties of pronunciation. They can sound Wrekin without dropping the *w*, and pronouncing it 'Rekin'; and old Llywarch Hen could do what most Englishmen cannot, viz. sound 'Uricon' as a word of two syllables." I think there can be no doubt that the Tren of the Elegy was intended to represent Uriconium. Knowing the course of the river, I confess I have a difficulty in conceiving what can have been the shape or magnitude of a town which stood "to the north and west of the Tern," unless it formed an immense crescent two or three miles in extent; nor can I understand why the enemy "evidently came from the east." It seems, on the contrary quite clear that fighting is intimated to have taken place at Ercall (High Ercall) and at Withington; and I hardly need say that these two places are nearly in a line *north* from Wroxeter,—the direction of invasion by the Northumbrian Angles which must have been most familiar in the old Welsh traditions. Now in this direction from Ercall, you cross the Roden to Withington, and from Withington *you cross the Tern* to Wroxeter. It seems to me that Mr. Stephens has rather lost himself among my "errors" and "mistakes."

Let us now proceed to Mr. Stephens's notable story about Bassa and his church. I have said that Bassa is an Anglo-Saxon name, and that Bassa's church was an Anglo-Saxon foundation; and argue, therefore, as Christianity was only introduced into Mercia in 655, this church could not have existed within a hundred years after

the period when Llywarch Hen is usually understood to have written. In addition to this instance of the name of Bassa occurring in Mercia, we find it in the seventh century in Northumbria and in Kent. Mr. Stephens denies that Bassa was an Anglo-Saxon name; but let us hear what he has to say on the subject:

"In the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* we read thus: 'A.D. 699.—This year King Egbert (of Kent) gave Reculver to Bass, the mass-priest that he might build a minster thereon' This Bas, whom Gaimar's *Chronicle* names Bas, *may have been* the 'Bassus miles Æduini' who fled with Paulinus from Northumbria to Kent, on the death of Edwin, in 633. *Being the friend* of Paulinus he *may have been*, as the name indicates, a Roman or Italian, and *may have come* over with him in 601. As the missionaries soon after separated, and found independent spheres of labour,—Mellitus and Justice to the East Saxons and Rochester in 604, and Paulinus to the Northumbrians in 625,—so Bassus *may have fixed* himself on the Welsh border at an early period, and *have emigrated* northward to join Paulinus, after the fall of Cynddylan, and on the outbreak of hostilities between Edwin and Cadwallon. Bede's statement that Bassus was a soldier of Edwin's *lacks the appearance of truth*, and *may be* simply a conjecture, as it *seems to be at variance* with the statement of the *A.-S. Chron.* The Mercian Bassa *may have been* named in honour of the Italian; and as the latter *was a church builder in his old age*, so in his earlier years he *may have been ambitious* to found a Roman church on the Welsh border."

The words printed in italics are all either statements without any foundation, or equally unfounded suppositions, originating only in Mr. Stephens's rather fertile imagination. Not one of these "maybes" has the slightest shadow of a fact to rest on. But why Bede's statement should be questioned is to me a complete mystery. Bede is universally acknowledged to be one of the most careful and accurate historians the middle ages have left to us. He was writing about his own country, Northumbria, with the affairs of which he was especially well acquainted; and these events were then so recent that he was no doubt acquainted with people who had been eye-witnesses or lived at the time. He was an ecclesiastic writing ecclesiastical history; and it is ridiculous to suppose that, in such a case, he could have mistaken an ecclesiastic for a warrior;

and it must be further remarked that his account is perfectly coherent and natural. After the slaughter of king Edwin in the fatal battle of Haethfeld in 633, there was no safety in Northumbria for any of the members of his family, and accordingly the queen Ethelburga fled to Kent with Paulinus, to whose charge her father had entrusted her, and who was her spiritual adviser. And Bede goes on to say that they travelled under the conduct of a most powerful warrior of king Edwin's, named Bassus, who was carrying away from danger the royal children. *(Venit autem illuc duce Basso, milite regis Æduini fortissimo.)* The use of the word *dux* coupled with *miles*, is sufficient to shew that Bassus and his followers formed a military escort; and Bede says not a word to make us suppose that he was a friend of Paulinus, or that there was any acquaintance between them beyond that which would naturally exist between two men of distinction living at the same court; it is a mere fancy of Mr. Stephens. I cannot see how this can *be at variance* with the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, which states, under the year 669 (not 699, as Mr. Stephens gives it), that king Egbert of Kent gave Reculver to a priest named Bass, "to build a monastery thereon." It is quite evident that Bassus of Northumbria, and Bass the Kentish priest, were two different persons; and Mr. Stephens's notion that the Kentish Bass was the man who went to the borders of Wales to found Baschurch, is not worth a moment's consideration. The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle does not tell us that he was an old man, or that he was a church-builder, or that his ambition in church-building lay in the direction of the border of Wales. It simply represents him as a pious Anglo-Saxon priest who wanted to found a monastic establishment (a very common practice in those times) in what was then a solitary place. We thus find the name of Bass in Northumberland, again in Kent, and a third time in Mercia; in three very different localities, and among three different branches of the Anglo-Saxon race. Surely this is a clear proof that the name is Anglo-Saxon. But there is another and very decisive proof, which Mr. Stephens has entirely overlooked. We find two forms of the name, Bas and Bass, with its patronymic, among the Anglo-Saxon settlers in this island; for the Basingas have left their name at Basing and Basingstoke in Hampshire, and at Basingwerk in Flintshire; and the Bassingas at Bassingbourn in Cam-

bridgeshire, Bassingfield in Nottinghamshire, Bassingham and Bassingthorpe in Lincolnshire, and Bassington in Northumberland.

Mr. Stephens has a theory about Baschurch which I can only consider as childish. He propounds a doctrine which I cannot understand, that, supposing the Mercians were only converted to Christianity in 655, "we are to reckon backwards from 655, and not forward, if we wish to find Christians who might have built the church," and illustrates it by some very irrelevant comparisons. He says "it was a *protected* church in a Christian country," but gives no authority for such a statement. In fact, there is no reason whatever for supposing that the church of Baschurch was as old as the seventh century; for the earliest mention of it is the information that it had been given, before the compilation of *Domesday Book*, by earl Roger de Montgomery to Shrewsbury Abbey. But Mr. Stephens seems to assume, upon this notion of its being a "protected" church, that it was founded by some fugitive Anglian Christian before the Mercians had made themselves masters of this country. And then he has another theory, according to which he places the death of Cynddylan, commemorated in this Elegy, in the year 613; and thinks that the old bard may have lived on to be a witness of the conversion of the Mercians in 655. This unlucky bard, Llywarch Hen, would seem, by the manner in which he gets from one date to another, to have been one of those slippery individuals of whom the less said the better.

I think thus that all my objections to the authenticity of Llywarch Hen's Elegy have been strengthened rather than weakened by Mr. Stephens's attack. It is evident that the writer or composer of it knew Withington only by its Anglo-Saxon name, and that he mistranslated it as it could be mistranslated only at a comparatively late period; that he knew Ercall only by its late and corrupted name; that he blundered equally in his allusion to Baschurch; that he knew nothing about the real history of the destruction of Uriconium, and that he was even ignorant of its name; and that, to crown all, in his bitter feeling against the Franks, or Norman lords marchers, he was betrayed into an allusion to them which shews that he lived in their time, and not in that of Cynddylan.

These remarks received no reply; but much more recently, in 1868 and 1869, they were attacked in a still more violent tone by the Rev. R. Harries Jones, vicar of Llanidloes, in the first and second volumes of the "*Collections, Historical and Archæological,*" issued by an excellent association, the Powys-Land Club. I was induced to offer some further remarks in defence of my opinion on the character of the Elegy of Llywarch Hen, which it will perhaps be well also to preserve here, and I therefore reprint them, with the simple omission of most of that which owed its introduction only to a little feeling of resentment at the uncourteous tone in which the attack was conducted.

My long and rather careful investigations on the site of the Roman city of Uriconium, at Wroxeter, had led me to the opinion that that city was destroyed in the earlier half of the fifth century by some of the barbarians who had thrown themselves upon the distant provinces of the Roman Empire. The preceding remarks, in reply to Mr. Stephens, had provoked the anger of the vicar of Llanidloes. It is not my intention now to go again regularly into the subject, but I will try and give a little satisfaction to my new and fiercer assailant. He may think, and be perfectly sure, that there was no such place as Penguern, or Shrewsbury, in existence at the time when Uriconium was destroyed. Other allusions might be pointed out which are equally unjustified, but I will confine myself to names and allusions where the evidence is more substantial, or may be further displayed.

And first, as to the question about Baschurch,—the church, or churches, of Bass, or Bassa,—I had asserted that Bassa was the name of an Anglo-Saxon, and that our Baschurch was a Saxon foundation, and therefore of a date subsequent to the Saxon Conquest. Mr. Harries Jones himself, who seems to exult over his own superior knowledge of Welsh, does not, as far as I can see, say that it is a Welsh name; and supposing it were derived from Roman, it would have become purely Saxon long before the period of Llywarch Hen. I beg to say that Bassa is, to all appearance, a very good Anglo-Saxon name, to which, I believe, no Anglo-Saxon would have objected, and I am sorry that in what I said upon this name I seem to have failed to be fully understood by Mr. Harries Jones. I will try to explain it more clearly and simply.

If our friend will recall his Greek, he will remember that there was an individual, tolerably well known, who was called sometimes *Achilleus* (Achilles), and sometimes *Peleidès* (the son of Peleus), the first, the name given him at birth and distinguishing him personally; the other, telling from whom he was descended, and distinguishing him, as we should say, aristocratically. Another of the heroes of Greek romance was called *Odysseus*, and *Laertiadès*, the latter name meaning the son of Laertes. Except in particular cases, the second of these names was no doubt looked upon as the most heroic, that is, the most aristocratic—and a freeman prided himself, first of all things, upon his descent. This aristocratic feeling was very strong among all the Teutonic race, and especially among the Anglo-Saxons.* The same which was expressed by the Greek termination *idès*, or *iadès*, was exactly rendered in the Teutonic dialects by *ing*. I need hardly say that every prince of the first dynasty of the Franks, the descendants of Meroveus (as he is called in Latin) was a Meroving, and that every one of the family of Charlemagne was a Carloving. In the same way, the great Athelstan, and every other son, or direct descendant, of king Alfred, was an Alfreding; and any prince of royal blood generally was an *atheling*, because *æthel* was the word which distinguished royalty of descent. I may cite another well-known example of the use of the patronymic. The Teutonic name for war was *wig*, and a warrior was, in the Anglo-Saxon form, a *wiga*. Hence those who took to war as a profession received the name of *wigings*, literally children of war, or of the warrior, a name which was given especially to those who conducted the piratical expeditions, whether Danes or others. These, too, have left us a a local name on our border, which appears to have been a favourite resort, as it gave them a convenient sea-board, both to the north and south. A well-known locality in Herefordshire formed perhaps a convenient central place for their encampment, and from this circumstance it received the name of *Wiginga-mere*, which, to judge from the modern form of the word, signified probably the moor of the Wigings. In the summer of 921, king Edward, the son of the great Alfred, built a fortress here to put a check upon their inva-

* The same feeling is still in existence among us, and shows itself when we speak of any one, however distinguished individually, as being a Herbert, or a Howard, or a Percy, but we have lost the patronymic.

sions, and, as the Chronicle tells us, it did good service before the summer was over. The original name has been in course of time corrupted to Wigmore. No one, entitled among our Anglo-Saxon forefathers to that termination, could be otherwise than Teutonic, or, at the least, in the not very likely case that he belonged to another race, he must have been thoroughly Saxonised, and have gone through a long initiation, perhaps of more than one generation, before he could have obtained the aristocratic right of giving the patronymic to his family. I therefore said that the fact of finding the name of Bassa in, at least, two branches and dialects of the Anglo-Saxon family, is a tolerably good proof that it was an Anglo-Saxon name; but that a still stronger proof of this is found in its possessing, from apparently a very early period, an Anglo-Saxon patronymic in the families, or houses of the *Bassingas*, and *Basingas*. I do not expect that Mr. Harries Jones will make it out to be a Welsh name. But he has found out what appears to me rather a childish difficulty: it was Bassa's churches, he says, and not Bassa's church. There was more than one church in the same churchyard, therefore it was an early Welsh church. I confess that I do not feel the weight of the argument, inasmuch as I have seen churchyards in England containing more than one church, doubtless of pure English and Anglo-Saxon growth, and I think, if it were worth the trouble, I could make out perhaps as long a list as that he gives of the duplicate, or triplicate, Welsh churches.

And now I will gladly leave our friend Bassa, for another knot which Mr. Harries Jones has got entangled in, and which again belongs to this question of Anglo-Saxon patronymics. There comes another place into this notable Elegy, which, no doubt, derives its name from an Anglo-Saxon lord, but which the writer of the Elegy misunderstood, and in a manner which points out a much later date. As I have said, the Teutonic aristocratic feeling was very strong among the Anglo-Saxons. Each great chieftain who at the time of the early invasions, came here to conquer a settlement, collected around him as many companions as he could, all, no doubt, men of good family, who came each with his own followers, prepared to share the dangers, and to share the settlement. They were exactly those younger sons of aristocratic families, who separ-

ated from their patriarchal home with the ambition of founding families of their own. When the war and invasion of conquest were over, each of these received his portion of land—often a good large slice—and, as the distribution was no doubt made by lot, one of them sometimes obtained two or three pieces of land, and thus gained a settlement in more than one locality. On this ground he immediately established his *ham*, or home; or, if he happened to have a taste for agriculture, or was more inclined to war, and to be a man of power, he raised his *tun*, or inclosure, either an inclosure of gardens and farmyard, or a fortified residence. (A *tun* was not always a place of residence.) This became the seat of his family, after his death, as long as the family lasted, at least, in his direct line; and there is much evidence that the holding of these family estates continued direct in the family, in many instances, almost, if not quite, down to the Norman Conquest. Multitudes of these estates are known even to the present day by the names of the families whose founder obtained them in the original conquest. The great pride of these primeval Anglo-Saxon chieftains was, indeed, that of founding a family, to form a part of the new aristocracy of their race in Britain; and the names which the estates took were all characteristic of this feeling; of course, while the first possessors held them, they must have borne their names; but, perhaps even before—at all events, after their death—they were considered as the family estate, and as belonging to the sons and descendants. Thus some adventurous chieftain, named Wela, or Wella, obtained possession of estates in Shropshire, and established a family home within an inclosure of some kind or other, which became, called from him, the *tun*, or inclosure, of the family, or sons, of Wella, the Wellingas, or, in pure Anglo-Saxon, Wellinga-tun, Wellington. Another chieftain, named Beorm, a fine Anglo-Saxon name, established a family in a neighbouring county, and their estates were in the same manner named from the patronymic of the family—Beorminga-ham, the home of the Beormingas, or sons of Beorm—Birmingham. As I have said, one of the conquering chieftains sometimes obtained more than one share, and, probably, sometimes chieftains of the same name joined in different expeditions, and obtained lands in different parts of the island; or perhaps, after gaining land in one part, the same chieftain joined

personally another expedition, and gained land in another. Hence the same local name occurs in different parts. Thus we have, at least, four Wellingtons in England—one in our own county, just mentioned; another in Herefordshire, another in Sussex, and a fourth in Somersetshire, from which last our great duke took his title. I can give another example of this plurality of the same name, beginning with our own county. Some chieftain, or perhaps more than one chieftain, named Hwita, or Hwitta (or, as we should write it in modernised form, White, or Whitt), obtained estates in several localities. They have left the name in those of Whittingham (Hwittinga-ham, the home of the Whittingas), in Northumberland; Whittington, near Oswestry, in Shropshire, a place famous in feudal times; Whittington, in Staffordshire; Whittington, in Worcestershire; Whittington, in Gloucestershire; and, again, Whittington, in Northumberland, where we have already found the Hwittingas at Whittingham. Nobody who knows anything of Anglo-Saxon history, or of the Anglo-Saxon language, can for a moment doubt the origin and meaning of all these names. One of them, Withington, perhaps only another form of Whittington, belongs to our subject, for it is introduced, as I had remarked, into this Elegy of Llywarch Hen long before there could have been any place with such a name in Shropshire, or any where near it; and, which is worse, the supposed writer of it had misunderstood the word in a manner in which it could only have been misunderstood several centuries after he is pretended to have written. He translates it the *White Town!*

Now, somebody has told Mr. Harries Jones that these names ending in *ington* may be corruptions. I have no objection to this plea. Of course, it is a natural consequence when there is a certain general rule of forms, that other forms, not very dissimilar, should be drawn erroneously, or accidentally, into the same form; every law has its exception, for it is generally held that the exception is the proof of the law; but such an objection can only be admitted when brought forward by those who can point out the corruption itself and its causes. The case adduced is that of Huntingdon, which is stated to be a corruption of Huntandun, meaning the hunter's hill. Upon the strength of this we are told, as I understand it, that Whittington is not Whittington, but that it is a corruption of something else, and that therefore, it, or Withington, must

have been a Welsh establishment, which was very properly known to our friend Llywarch Hen.

Now, let us consider these pretended corruptions, and especially this example of Huntingdon. 'In the first place, let me remark, that a *dun*, a hill, is neither a *ham* (home) nor a *tun* (enclosed residence), so that the case is not very well chosen. The objectors say that Huntingdon is a corruption of Huntan-dun, the hunter's hill. On the same principle, as I suppose, we are to suppose that Whittington is a corruption of Whitan-tun. I have considerable doubt as to the corruption in the first place, nor can I easily explain, if such were the case, why the name of Huntingdon is found in full at a very early period: we find it, indeed, in the history of Henry of Huntingdon, who wrote in the earlier half of the twelfth century, and who is, I believe, the first who gives this explanation of it. He says that "Huntingdon" meant the "hill of the hunters," which, of course, could not be correct, as it would mean "the hill of the sons of the hunter."* But Henry of Huntingdon lived at the time when everything Anglo-Saxon was most despised—people, or manners, or language—and he himself not unfrequently mistranslates, when taking the material of his history from the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*. He goes on to say that Huntingdon stood on the site of Godmanchester, "once a famous city, but now only a pleasant village on both sides of the river."

Now, on this question of names, let me make a remark not to be forgotten in this discussion. Among the Anglo-Saxons, the man individually derived his name from personal considerations, and it was either given him at his birth, or he took it afterwards; sometimes from circumstances which pleased himself or struck other people. Giving the widest limit we can to this suggestion of corruption, and supposing that the original name were *Huntan-dun*, it would signify in Anglo-Saxon the hill of Hunta, a name meaning literally a hunter; but it was just one of those names which would be assumed by a Saxon chieftain, some great hunter, of beasts or of men. Hunta would be a good Anglo-Saxon name, answering, though

* Henry of Huntingdon's words are (p. 207, in Savile's *Scriptores post Bedam*, ed. 1576) *Huntendonia vero, id est mons venatorum*. The form of the word, no doubt that given in the manuscript, might admit of a doubt, if his translation in the genitive plural did not show that he knew the word as Huntinga-dun. In Domesday Book, which belongs to the previous century, the name is written *Huntedun*, which is probably only one of the numerous corrupt spellings by the Norman scribes in taking down the names from the mouths of the Saxon witnesses. The town is constantly called *Huntingdone*, in the Hundred Rolls, which belong to the thirteenth century.

perhaps more dignified, to Mr. Hunter of our modern English, which we know is not a very uncommon name. Now, Huntingdon is a very early town, founded upon the ruins of the Roman town of *Durolipons*, and therefore not very likely to have been a hunting station; and we may, perhaps, think it more probable that Hunta, the Anglo-Saxon chieftain, had gained the estate in the original distribution, that he kept the designation of *dun*, instead of *tun*, or *ham*, and that he left to it, as the home of the family, the name of *Huntinga-dun*, or Huntingdon. As I have already remarked, the family residence at the beginning would naturally be called Huntandun, and afterwards Huntingadun, and, as it is found in this form in early records, the modern name may, in all probability, be no corruption at all.

And now let us turn to Mr. Harries Jones's other corruption. As I understand him, I suppose he considers that Whittington or Hwittinga-tun, was, like Huntingdon, only a corruption of Hwittan-tun. Let him have his way: no doubt the founder of the estate and family was Hwitta, or Hwita, and this was his *tun*, or inclosure, and in his time it might be known as Hwittan-tun, or Hwitan-tun, though afterwards it would be the head seat of his family, and would be known generally as the *tun* or residence of the Hwittingas, or family of Hwitta—Whittington. But I do not see what Mr. Harries Jones is to gain by this. Probably the chieftain Hwitta had made himself known by some white mark of distinction, either on his person, or in some other way, for the name means the white-one; and, to explain it all more simply, it would respond (to descend from high things to low) to our modern name of Mr. White, which, as Mr. Harries Jones no doubt knows, is not a very uncommon name among our Englishmen; and the difference of the two forms of the name would only be whether it be viewed in the light of the house of Mr. White or the house of Mr. White's family. Perhaps the vicar of Llanidloes will inform us what there is more of Welsh and less of English in the phrase "Mr. White's house," than in that of "Mr. White's family's house." It is perfectly clear that the name of Whittington belonged to a later date than that of the Prince Cynddylan, and the writer of this Elegy upon him, ascribed to Llywarch Hen, did not even know what the word meant, and

mistranslated it in such a way as none in the time of Cynddylan, or long after, could have done.

I think my readers will now understand, better than Mr. Harries Jones seems to have done, my reasons against the authenticity of the poem of Llywarch Hen. I think what I have already said ought to be enough to show that his arguments are not quite so overwhelming as he seems to suppose, and I have no great desire to follow him any further; but still there remain one or two points on which I may venture to offer a remark.

Mr. Harries Jones is evidently not very perfectly acquainted with the history of verse, but he would be innocent indeed if he expected to find written monuments of Welsh or Anglo-Saxon poetry of the sixth century. Poetry was the literature of the people, of the nation, and it was only after the people had risen to a considerable state of artificial refinement that it was preserved in any other manner than by the memory. Thus it lived on from generation to generation, from century to century, but let nobody suppose that it was thus continued unchanged; on the contrary, the minstrel, the songster, was, to a certain degree, the poet also, and it was his business to form and modify his song to the character and requirements of the time in which he sang. Hence it would be vain indeed to suppose that we find any poetry of these early ages in anything like the form in which it was originally composed, or that it has any degree of historical value, except for the date to which the written copy belongs. The Anglo-Saxon manuscript of Beowulf is of late in the tenth century, or of the beginning of the eleventh, yet, though the poem certainly belongs to a very far earlier period, it is a question of discussion whether, in its present form, it be a poem belonging to the Anglo race before it came to Britain, and modified by course of time, or a Danish or Scandinavian poem translated into Anglo-Saxon. In the same way the Welsh poetry would be preserved by the minstrels, was thus legendary, and must have been continually undergoing change. From time to time, some temporary cause of excitement, some national movement, brought this poetry out into stronger relief, and of course, produced new modifications and new creations. Such an outburst of nationality certainly occurred among the Welsh in the earlier half of the fifteenth century, and, as all acquainted with the literary

history of that period know, there was at that time a far greater tendency than even before, during the middle ages, to commit this poetry to writing. It was on the eve of the introduction of printing. As might be expected, the poems thus produced, purporting to be of early date, of which there would of course be many, can have no historical value whatever, because, at the best, they could only be founded upon old popular legends, and represent popular feelings of the day when they were now published. During the feudal period the national feeling in Wales was bitter against the Anglo-Norman border barons, who were known as Franks or Frenchmen, and I had pointed out how this feeling was expressed in this poem ascribed to Llywarch Hen, how it was easy to be understood at the time when the poem was published, but how it had no meaning at all at the date at which Llywarch Hen is said to have lived. If the poem were altogether a new invention, or if it were built upon an old popular legend, we can easily understand how the destruction of Uriconium was dragged into it. Even at the beginning of the fifteenth century the site of Uriconium presented, no doubt, a mass of ruins with the traces of burning, which would furnish material for any story you liked,—in fact there were legends of Uriconium of an earlier date which contained nothing about Cynddylan or any of his kin But, as I have said in reply to Mr. Stephens, the introduction of the Franks, *i.e.*, the Norman barons, points at once to the later date of the poem. It has been attempted to insist that these French barons were Franks of the sixth century, who came over with the Saxons; but I think that I have said enough on this subject in reply to Mr. Stephens. The vicar of Llanidloes, however, has returned to it.

Mr. Stephens pretended that the Franks had been introduced by Carausius, and that these Franks had settled on the Welsh border and preserved their name to the time of Llywarch Hen, a theory which was contrary to probability, and had no foundation in historical facts of any kind. Mr. Stephens's error, I thought, I had sufficiently demonstrated; but Mr. Harries Jones, as I understand him, advances another step. He seems to think that the Franks were in England with the Anglo-Saxons, and he fills some pages with quotations to prove that the Franks and Saxons were close allies, and usually acted together, a fact which is known to

everybody who knows anything about mediæval history. But I fear he has here fallen into another blunder, for he seems to think that the Saxons who were in alliance with the Franks were the Anglo-Saxons, whereas they were the Saxons of Germany, a totally different people. But his remarks on this subject are really not worth any serious discussion. Amongst the tribes who infested the frontiers of Roman Gaul, at the same time with the Franks, were the German Saxons. As we all know, all these invaders were always ready to take Roman service and Roman pay, and when Carausius, who had assumed the empire in Gaul as well as in Britain, moved from Gaul into this island, he hired a body of Frankish warriors as part of his army, and he had them with him in his camp at Southampton. But the history of this body of warriors is well known; they did not remain in this island, except so far as their corpses found a burial place at London. The Franks of the Continent established an empire of their own in Gaul, and planted their name there, which was softened down at a far later period into French. William the Norman conquered England with an army of Franks, according to the popular language of that time; and the Anglo-Norman barons were called Franks by the English people as well as by the Welsh. This term was continued to the barons of the Welsh border, the Lords Marchers. Of course these were objects of great hatred to the Welsh, and we can easily understand the introduction of this word in a poem written to keep up the national feelings of the Welsh in an age like that in which Owen Glendwr lived.

In what he says about the name of Ercal, Mr. Harries Jones is so entirely wrong, and shows so complete an ignorance of the subject he is talking about, that it is quite unnecessary for me to enter upon a discussion of it. In fact, I have no inclination to go on further. It is of no use arguing with a writer who believes that Shrewsbury, or Penguern, and Uriconium were standing at the same time, and talks of Uriconium as the Windsor of Penguern! Why, Shrewsbury within its walls, was a very little town in comparison to Uriconium. The latter was double the size of the Shrewsbury of the present day, and its destruction in the sixth century would have been an event of such an extraordinary importance that it cannot have escaped mention in the annals of the Anglo-Saxons.

Any antiquary who has examined the remains as I have, will not doubt for an instant that Uriconium was a mass of ruins long before that date.

APPENDIX No. II.

ON SOME SHROPSHIRE ANTIQUITIES.

The following remarks were first printed as a communication to the "SHREWSBURY CHRONICLE," *at the close of the month of November*, 1862.

In the course of compiling my book on Uriconium, I have met with two Anglo-Saxon charters, which are of considerable importance for the early history of our county. Both are printed in Kemble's "Codex Anglo-Saxonicus." The first, dated at Oswestry in the year 855, is a grant of land by the unfortunate Burhred, who was eventually deprived of his kingdom of Mercia by the Danes, to the monks of Worcester; and it informs us that Burhred was then (no doubt with the Mercian army) at Oswaldes-dun (Oswestry), because the pagans, or Danes, were on *Wreocen-setum*, in the country of the Wreocen-setas or Wrekin-dwellers. The other charter is a century more modern, being a grant by king Eadgar, in the year 963, of two estates *in provincia Wrocen-setna*, in the province of the Wrocan-setas, called *Plesc et Eastun*. I feel little doubt that Plesc is the manor of Plaish, or Plash, in the parish of Cardington; and Eastun may be any place named Aston, possibly that in Munslow. In the Anglo-Saxon period, territorial rights were proved by witnesses who could speak to the line of boundary of the estate, of which the inhabitants at certain times made a formal perambulation. It is said that the school-boys of the locality were taken on such perambulations, and that at each particular boundary mark they were severely flogged, by way of strongly impressing the fact on their memory; and this, perhaps,

is the reason why still, in our old towns, the parish school-boys are at certain periods made to walk the bounds, though the flogging is dispensed with. In the Anglo-Saxon charters the bounds are always given in the vernacular tongue, but as they naturally contain a good deal of local dialectic forms and local names of objects, they are not always translated with ease. One or two words in the bounds of Plesc and Eastun come under this predicament, but the whole may be translated without much difficulty. I give the text with the translation:

"Sunt autem haec praedictą rura circumcinta istis terminis. Ærest of Diuwuces pædhe on Lilsætna gemære; andlang brocæs on eotaŋ ford; of eotan forda on dhone gretan alr; of dham alre on dhone micclan dic; of dham dice on dlía haran dene; of dhære haran dene in dhone deopan mor; andlang midles dhæs mores in æslices ford; of æslices forda andlang mores on hina gemæra; of hina gemæra on dha threo dicas; of dham dican in dhæne longan thorn; of dham thorn in dhæs dices geat; of dhæs dices geate on dha bradan ræue; of dhære bradan ræue on mærsic; of mærsice on mærdic; andlang mærdices on Wiggerdes treo; of Wiggerdes treo dhæt æft on Diowuces pedh."

Translation:—"And these foresaid lands are inclosed by these bounds. First, from Diuwuc's path to the bounds of the Lilsætas; along the brook to the giant's ford; from the giant's ford to the great alder; from the alder to the big dike (or embankment); from the dike to the hare's valley; from the hare's valley to the deep moor; along the middle of the moor to Æslic's (?) ford; from Æslic's ford along the moor to Hina's (?) bounds; from Hina's bounds to the three dikes; from the dike to the long thorn; from the thorn to the gate, or pass, of the dike; from the dike's gate to the broad row (?); from the broad row to the great furrow (or water-course); from the great furrow to the great dike; along the great dike to Wiggerd's tree; from Wiggerd's tree back again to Diowuc's path."

These are the boundaries of the estate of Eastune; those of Plesc are as follows:

"Dheræfter synt dha land-gemæro to Plesc. Ærst of Plæsc in dhone broc; of dham bræce in thælbricge; of thælbricge to dhone heh-stræte; of dhæra heh stræte to strea-wyllan; of strea-wællan

to dham litlan dice; of dham dice to hare dæne; of hare dene to dham stanhifete; of dham stanhifete upp to dham hedhe; of dham ædhe to dham sice; andlang sice to mænelege: of mænelege to dham bræce; of dham bræcæ dæht æft in Plesc."

Translation:—"Hereafter are the land boundaries at Plesc. First, from Plesc to the brook; from the brook to the plank bridge; from the plank bridge to the high street; from the high street to straw-well; from straw-well to the little dike; from the dike to hare valley; from hare valley to the stone-quarry; from the stone-quarry up to the heath; from the heath to the furrow (or water-course); along the furrow to bad lea; from bad lea to the brook; from the brook back again to Plesc."

Perhaps some of my readers in the districts to which these documents relate may be able to trace some of these names still existing in the obscure local names of fields, brooks, or other objects. Unfortunately, they are mostly such objects as the space of nine hundred years would easily clear away, yet some of them are of a more durable nature. The high-street was certainly a Roman road, and there are, I believe, traces of more than one Roman road in the parish of Cardington, or within no great distance. The expression of going up from the stone-quarry to the heath, shows that the one was on the side of a hill and the other at the top of it; and we can easily understand in Shropshire what are the furrows *(sicas)* caused by water-courses among the hills. The dikes were no doubt ancient embankments, of which also some traces may remain; and the Eotan-ford, or Giant's ford (it is a name belonging to the primeval mythology of our Anglo-Saxon forefathers) was probably a Roman ford over a stream, attached to which were ancient remains so remarkable as to be believed to have been the work of giants. Local names, even when taken from very transitory circumstances, often endure through centuries, and even such an appellation as "mene lege," meaning, apparently, the bad or mean lea, may remain in such a name as Mainley, or Menley; and so "haran-dene" might continue to exist in such a name as Harden, just as "haran-lege," or the hare's lea, is represented by Harley. We see in all the boundaries, as given in the Anglo-Saxon charters, how observant our early forefathers were of trees, as of all kinds of natural objects. But great alders and long thorns are not very

long-lived, and their memory is not likely to survive nine hundred years. Yet we have plenty of evidence how long the names given to trees last, even in our own part of the country, in such names as "Oswaldes-tree," which gave name to the important town of Oswestry; and "Almodes-tree," now Aymestry, the latter of which individuals, Almod, appears to have been as obscure as those who gave their names to the Wiggerd's tree or the Diowuc's path of our charter.

The interest of these Anglo-Saxon charters is not, however, confined to the mere identification of obscure local names. One circumstance strikes me with particular force, the great extent which must have been embraced in what is called the country or "province" of the Wreocen-setas. It is evident that in king Burhred's charter, the statement that the Danes were *on Wreocen-setum* was equivalent to saying that they were in possession of Shropshire; and the *in provincia Wrocen-setna* of Eadgar's charter evidently meant the great part of what we now call Shropshire, if not the whole. It seems pretty clear, from the general context, that, at least in king Burhred's time, Shrewsbury did not exist as a place of any importance. For some reason or other, the Wrekin had struck the first of the Teutonic invaders who occupied this country so much that they gave its name to the whole territory around; and, but for the extraordinary importance and power of the Norman earldom of Shrewsbury, it is very probable that, instead of Shropshire, our county would now have been called Wrekinsetshire, like Somersetshire and Dorsetshire. The spirit of the name which the county would thus have borne lives in our county toast of "All friends round the Wrekin," by which we mean all the people of Shropshire, a toast which these discoveries, if they are worth calling discoveries, show to have a far more remote origin than has been hitherto supposed, and which receives a new importance from them. May it long continue to bind us together in friendly feelings!

APPENDIX, No. III.

EARLY RENTAL OF WROXETER.

(Reprinted from the Journal of the British Archæological Association.)

A curious document, at present in the possession of C. L. Prince, Esq., has been communicated to me by a friend (M. A. Lower, Esq., of Lewes in Sussex); it is a rent-roll of the manor of Wroxeter in the twenty-fourth year of the reign of Edward III. (A.D. 1350), and appears to me in many respects worthy of being printed. It will appear at once that a very small portion of the acreage of the parish, which is now estimated at 4774 acres, two roods, and thirty perches, was then under cultivation; for, reckoning the virgate at sixty acres (I believe the ordinary estimate in this part of the country), and the *noca* or quarter of a virgate, at fifteen, we can hardly account for more than six or seven hundred acres, including a considerable quantity of waste. I am informed, moreover, that some of the land mentioned in this document is not now included in the parish. It is evident that a great part of the land was then waste,—the ground at Norton was a heath, which must have been extensive. Probably a part at least of the site of Uriconium was so covered on the surface with the ruins of buildings as to be left wild. One of the residents bears the very significant name of *Johannes ătte Walle*, or John at the Wall, which was in all probability given to him because his *messuage* was adjacent to a part of the ancient town wall. The whole parish at this time appears to have contained twenty-two messuagia, or houses of men holding generally about thirty acres of land, and eleven cottages. By the census of 1821, the latest to which I can at present refer, there were a hundred and twelve houses in the present parish. The *dominus*, or feudal lord, was the earl of Arundel.

There is one local name in this record which is interesting. Hugh Maunseil held a piece of pasture "called le Rowemelne," *melne* being of course the usual old English word for a mill. It

may perhaps be allowable to conjecture that the first part of the word is some corruption of Rome or Roman, and that the pasture received its name from the ruins of a Roman mill, or the tradition that there had been one there. There is, I am informed, a field through which the Bell Brook runs, on the right hand of the Watling-street road as we go to the *Horse-shoe* inn, which is still called Rue-mill, and which is no doubt the pasture in question. Perhaps the Romans had a mill on the Bell Brook, within the town.

It is also worthy of remark that, of four pieces of pasture held by the tenants in common, two have names compounded of the word *gete*, or gate. Chestergete may mean the gate of the *chester*, or ancient city, from which the place received its modern name; and its position is thus not defined. Bowegete may possibly mean the southern gate, from the curve which, according to the plan, its walls seem to have made. Pole may have been named from a pool of water, and Wyggestan, from some remarkable monument of stone.

RENTAL OF WROXETER, A.D. 1350.

Rentale de Wroxcetere, factum super compotum ibidem ad festum sancti Michaelis anno regni regis Edwardi tertii post con̄. xxiiij°.

Abbas de Haghmoun tenet per cartam unam placeam vasti juxta Tyrne, fossato inclusam. . . reddit vj. s. ad terminum Michaelis.

Abbas de Lilleshulle pro attachiamento stagni molendini de Tyrne. r. vj. d. ad eundem terminum.

Dominus Rogerus Corbet tenet Hadeley pro dimidio feodo militis. r. j. spervarium sorum ad dictum festum sancti Michaelis.

Johannes de Westoun Coyne tenet Westoun Coyne pro dimidio feodo, r. vj. s. viij. d. ad festum Annunciationis, pro omni servitio.

Johannes le Poynour tenet j. messuagium et dimidiam virgatam terræ, et debet sumonere omnes liberos tenentes curiæ de Upton, et districtiones et attachiamenta facere super eosdem.

Idem tenet per cartam domini unam placeam brusseti vocatam le Lee, et xxv. acras et dimidiam regales vasti, super brueram de

Nortoun. r. inde per annum ad festa sancti Michaelis et Annunciationis, per æquales portiones, xxviij. s. xj. d·

Thomas de Smethecote tenet xxx. acras regales vasti super brueram de Nortoun. r. per annum ad ij. terminos prædictos xxx. s. et sectam curiæ de Wroxcestre.

Rogerus de Golynghale tenet super eandem brueram xij. acras. r. per annum ad ij. terminos prædictos xij. s. et ij. apparenc' ad magnam curiam ibidem.

Idem tenet iij. acras regales ibidem. r. per annum iij. s.

Hugo Maunseil tenet j. messuagium et dimidiam virgatam terræ ibidem. r. per annum ad ij. terminos prædictos v. s. et sectam ad curiam.

Idem tenet j. placeam pasturæ ex traditione seneschalli vocatam le Rowemelne. r. ad ij. terminos prædictos xiiij d.

Johannes de Donyntoun capellanus tenet ij. cotagia cum uno crofto, et iiij. acras terræ regales super eandem brueram. r. ad ij. terminos viij. s. vj. d.

Sibilla de Bromptoun tenet j. messuagium et dimidiam virgatam terræ libere ad terminum vitæ. r. ad ij. terminos prædictos x. s.

Eadem tenet j. acram vasti sine scripto. r. ad ij. terminos prædictos xij. d.

Johannes Selke tenet j. messuagium et dimidiam virgatam terræ, et j. acram super brueram. r. . . . xj. s. ad terminos.

†[1]Ricardus Ady tenet j. messuagium, dimidiam virgatam, et j. acram terræ super brueram. r. . . . . xj. s. ad eosdem terminos.

Thomas le Poynour tenet tantum, et r. . xj. s. ad eosdem terminos.

Rogerus de Wythintoun tenet tantum. r. . xj. s. ad eosdem terminos.

Margareta le Hare tenet tantum. r. . . xj. s. ad eosdem terminos.

Johannes Wyteacre tenet tantum. r. . . xj. s. ad eosdem terminos.

Petronilla Baker tenet tantum. r. . . xj. s. ad eosdem terminos.

Margeria Hare tentet tantum. r. . . xj. s. ad eosdem terminos.

Eadem tenet j. placeam pasturæ juxta gardinum suum. r. . . . ij. gallinas ad Nat' Domini.

Rogerus le Hare tenet j. messuagium, dimidiam virgatam terræ, et j. acram super brueram. r. . . . xj. s. ad. ij. terminos.

†Johannes Selk tenet j. messuagium, et j. nocam terræ, et j. acram super brueram. r. vj. s. iiij. d. ad terminos prædictos. Int' ad festum annunciationis a° xxxj^to

Johannes de la Grene tenet tantum. r. . vj. s. ad terminos prædictos.

Johannes Traventer tenet tantum. r. . vj. s. ad terminos prædictos.

Idem tenet j. parvam placeam in augmento gardini sui. r. . . . . j. d. ad eosdem terminos.

Johannes atte Walle tenet j. messuagium et j. nocam terræ. r. . . . vj. s. ad eosdem terminos.

Idem tenet j. nocam cum gardino juxta grangiam domini. r. . . . ij. s. ad eosdem terminos.

*2Johannes Knotte tenet j. messuagium et j. nocam terræ. r. . . . . vj. s. ad eosdem terminos.

Idem dat ad eosdem terminos pro j. placea in augmento terræ suæ . . iij. d. et j. gall' ad Nat' Domini.

Ricardus filius Reginaldi tenet j. messuagium, et j. nocam terræ, j. acram vasti, et j. acram campestrem. r. . . vj. s. vj. d. ad eosdem terminos prædictos.

Alicia relicta Hugonis filii Reginaldi tenet j. messuagium, j. nocam terræ, et j. acram super brueram. r. . . . vj. s. ad eosdem terminos.

*Isabella Hare tenet j. messuagium, et j. acram super brueram, et j. placeam. r. vj. s. viij. d.

Sibilla Jonkneros tenet j. messuagium et dimidiam nocam terræ. r. . . iij. s. ad ij. terminos.

Ricardus de Sywaldesdoun tenet j. cotagium et iij. acras terræ. r. . . . iij. s. ij. d. ad ij. terminos

Thomas Wychart tenet j. messuagium et vj. acras terræ. r. . . . . v.s. iij. d.

Amicia le Traventer tenet j. cotagium et iij. acras terræ. r. . . . . iiij. s. ix. d.

Matilda Wychart tenet j. cotagium et iij. acras terræ. r. . . . . iiij. s.

Idem (*sic*) tenet unam forgiam. r. . . xij. d.

*Johannes le Longe tenet j. cotagium cum vj. acris terræ. r. . . . . vj. s. iiij. d.

Thomas le Chaloner tenet j. cotagium. r. ij. s.

*Willelmus Fishare tenet j. cotagium. r. ij. s.

Willelmus Wychart tenet j. cotagium et iij. acras terræ. r. . . . . ij. s. x. d.

Isolda Raynald tenet j. cotagium et iij acras terræ. r. . . . . ij. s. x. d.

Jonkin le Baker tenet vj. acras terræ dominicæ et j. acram vasti sine messuagio. r. iij. s. ij. d. ad dictos terminos

Petronilla Swetedoughter tenet j. cotagium cum gardino. r. . . . . xviij. d. ad ij. terminos.

Et prædicti tenentes tenent quatuor placeas pasturæ, videlicet pastur' de Chestregete, Pole, Bowegete et de Wyggestan. r. per annum ad ij. terminos . . vj. s.

†Thomas de Berewik dat pro licentia piscandi super Tyrne . . . . iij. s. iiij. d. ad ij. terminos.

Et villata de Atyncham dat pro aisiamento habendo ad riveram de Tyrne . . vj. d. ad festum sanc. Michaelis tantum.

Summa totalis redditus . xvj. li. ij. s. x. d.

Unde { Ad festum sancti Michaelis . viij. li. xiiij. d.
{ Ad festum Annunciationis . viij. li. xvj. d.
Item, ad Nativitatem Domini . iij. gallinas.
Item, ad Gulam Augusti . j. spervarium, vel ij. s.

(*In dorso.*)

Item, de firma gurgitis ibidem.

Item, de abbate de Buldewas vj. plaustratas claustruræ singulis annis pro dicta gurgite reparanda ante Pascham, quandocunque domino quærere placuerit.

1 † In each of the cases indicated by this mark the name of one tenant is crossed out to make way for another, the latter being the one given in the text. Thus, in the first instance, the name of the tenant was Adam Gurry, which is crossed out, and Ricardus Ady written above; so, in the second case, Adam de Harnegge occupied the place of Johannes Selk, and, in the third, Stephanus de Lee de Prestoun that of Thomas de Berewike. Stephen de Lee had given up the fishing after the rental had been written, and it was let out to Thomas de Berwick.

2 * Each of the sentences to which a star is prefixed, is marked *vac'* (*vacat*) in the margin, as being unoccupied, the tenant having quitted.

APPENDIX, No. IV.

LIST OF ROMAN COINS FOUND AT WROXETER.

WROXETER has long been celebrated for the great number of Roman coins which are found, not only in the course of digging and excavating, but which are picked up almost on the surface of the ground. In a manuscript account of Travels in England, written in the year 1743, and preserved in the manuscripts of the British Museum (MS. Addit, No. 15,776, fol. 167), the writer remarks, speaking of Wroxeter: "They very often find Roman medals here. I got a very good one of Posthumus in large brass, which was found here but a few days before." The peasantry of the place have generally some of these medals for sale, and various persons have at different times made collections of more or less extent. They are locally called *dinders*, a word no doubt corrupted from the Latin *denarius*. The following list of Roman coins found at Wroxeter has been kindly communicated to me by my friend Mr. Samuel Wood. They are now preserved in the Museum of Natural History and Antiquities, Shrewsbury; and it will give some notion both of their abundance, and of their interest.

In collating and arranging coins discovered at Wroxeter, my friend remarks: "Many very interesting questions arise in our mind. First, the vast numbers that have from time to time been picked up would make it appear as if the ground had been sown broadcast with them. Many thousands have passed through my hands, and I am sure I speak within bounds when I say I have seen at least a peck.

"Secondly, one is struck with the worn appearance of them, so much so, that, generally, the legends are nearly obliterated, and in many the emperors to whom they belong can only be made out by a person familiar with their portraits on coins.

"Thirdly, the very small number of gold.—I have not seen more than four or five; the scarcity of the silver, and the vast number of copper.

"From these circumstances one would be led to the conclusion that for a long time no Roman mint was established in Britain, but that the coin was brought over and circulated for many years without any renewal. Hence specimens of the coins of the Consular type are rare among those discovered at Wroxeter. We possess examples of two families only. The Second and Third Brass of the lower empire are generally in fair, and some even in fine, condition, excepting the reigns of Tetricus, Victorinus, and Claudius Gothicus. It would appear that the Emperors of Britain often restamped with their own portrait and device, the coins of previous Emperors, for we frequently find coins of Gallienus bearing the portrait of Carausius over that of the other Emperor, and his successor Allectus adopted the same practice. Of the coins of Carausius a remarkable and unique one was picked up here, bearing the full face and bare head of this Emperor. It was in fine presevation, and is now in the British Museum. After the Romans had left Britain, coins were struck of the governors or generals who succeeded the Emperors in command, for there are numerous coins bearing illegible inscriptions, barbarous imitations of Tetricus, Victorinus, Gothicus, and the Constantines, so rude in design and workmanship, that their origin from the barbarous successors cannot be doubted. It is a remarkable circumstance that no Saxon coins have been found here; at any rate I have only seen one, a "styca," the monarch's name not decipherable. This may have been accidently dropped there long after the destruction of the city. The absence of Saxon coins clearly proves, I think, that Wroxeter must have been completely destroyed before the arrival of the Saxons, or by these conquerors, and that it was never inhabited by them as a city."

Silver.

CONSULAR.

ANTONIA.

ANT. AVG. IIIVIR. R. P. C. A Gally.

LEG. XIX. Three military Standards.

PORCIA.

FONT. ROMA. A Galley, with three rows of Oars, a Pilot, and military Standards.

P. LÆCA. Winged head of Minerva, before X above ROMA.

PROVOC. A citizen standing and being crowned by a military figure, behind whom stands a lictor. The only Consular coin found in the Wroxeter hoard.

TIBERIUS. A.D. 14 to 37.

TI. CAESAR. DIVI. AVG. F. AVGVSTUS. Laureated head of Tiberius. (*Aureus.*)

PONT. MAX. Tiberius Seated as Chief High Priest.

OTHO. A.D. 69.

IMP. OTHO. CAESAR. Head to right with curled hair.

SECVRITAS. P. R. Female standing stolated, holding a garland and hasta.

VESPASIAN. A.D. 69 to A.D. 79.

CAESAR. VESP. AVG P. M. Laureated head.

AVGVR. TRI. POT. Pontifical Instruments.

IMP. CAESAR. VESPASIANVS. AVG. Laureated head to right.

CAESAR. AVG. F. COS. CAESAR. AVG. F. P. R. The heads of Titus and Domitian, face to face, struck to record the honour of the first attaining his first consulship, and the second on his being proclaimed Prince of the Roman Youth.

COS. ITE. TR. POT. Draped female, holding caduceus and olive branch.

CAESAR. VESPASIAN. Laureated head.

PONTIF. MAXIM. A Caduceus.

PONT. MAX. TR. P. COS. VI. The Emperor seated, holding an olive branch.

COS. VII. An eagle with expanded wings, holding in his talons a thunderbolt. This device was struck in honor of the Apotheosis of Vespasian.

COS . ITER . TR . POT . Female figure seated, holding in her right hand an olive branch, in her left a caduceus.

TRI . POT . COS . III . P . P . Female figure seated, holding in her right hand an olive branch, in her left a caduceus.

IMP . CAES . VESP . ... AVG . CENS . PONTIF . MAXIM . The Emperor seated in a curule chair. In his right hand is a spear, in his left a palm branch.

PON . MAX . ... TR . P . COS . VI . Female figure seated. In her right hand an olive branch, in her left some instrument.

TITUS. A.D. 79 to A.D. 81.

IMP . TITVS . CAES . VESPASIAN . AVG . P . M . Laureated head of Titus.

TR . P . IX . IMP . XV . COS . VIII . P . P . Upon a stool draped a thunderbolt. Titus was seven times consul with his father, consequently this coin recording his eighth consulship, and was struck in the first year of his reign, A.D. 79.

DOMITIAN.

A.D. 79 to A.D. 96.

CAESAR . AVG . F . DOMITIANVS . COS . VII . Head of Domitian.

IVVENTVTIS . PRINCEPS . A Helmet surmounted by a military ensign. In the centre two right hands joined.

IMP . CAES . DOMIT . AVG . GERM . P . M . TR . P . VI . Laureated head to right.

IMP . XIIII . COS . XIII . CENS . P . P . P . Minerva standing upon the capital of a rostral pillar, holding a spear. At her feet an owl.

IMP . XXI . COS . XV . CENS . P . P . P . As foregoing.

IMP . CAES . DOMIT . AVG . GERM . COS . XV .

FORTUN. A ... Female standing.

FORTUNA. as foregoing. COS. XVI.

MONET. AVGVSTI. Equity standing, with attributes.

TRAJAN.

A.D. 98 to 117.

IMP. CAES. NERVA. TRAIAN. GERM. Laureated head.

PONT. MAX. TR. POT. COS. II. Veiled figure, seated, holding a patera.

P. M. TR P. COS. II. PP. Stolated female, seated.

P. M. TR. P. COS. IIII. P. P. Figure of Hercules standing.

P. M. TR. P. COS. IIII. P. P. Victory holding a palm branch and crown.

COS. V. P. P. S. P. Q. R. OPTIMO. PRINC. Victory standing on a capital of a column.

COS. V. P. P. S. P. Q. R. OPTIMO PRINC. The Emperor standing, draped, holding the cornucopia and caduceus.

S. P. Q. R. OPTMO. PRINCIPI. The Emperor standing, draped, holding the cornucopia and caduceus.

COS. V. P. P. S. Q. R. OPTIMO. PRINC. Female figure leaning on a column, and holding olive branch.

P. M. TR. P. COS. VI P. P S. P. Q. R. Nude figure, holding in his right hand a patera, and in left ears of corn.

VIA. TRAIANA. S. P. Q. R. OPTIMO. PRINCIPI. A female reclining against a bank and supporting a wheel.

IMP. CÆSAR. NERVA. TRAIANO. AVG. GER. DAG. PM. TR. P. COS. V. P. P. Laureated profile bust of Trajan.

S. P. Q. R. OPTIMO. PRINCIPI. A female draped figure seated on a pile of arms, by the side of a trophy.

Same legend.—Ceres standing before an altar, holding ears of wheat.

COS. V. P. P. S. P. Q. R. OPTIMO. PRINC. Across the field, AET. AVG. A veiled female holding two urns, from which fire ascends. We have here an example of a votive coin struck in honour of this popular Emperor, by order of the Senate and people of Rome, expressing the vain wish, "May the King live for ever."

DACICVS. COS. V. P. P. S. P. Q. R. OPTIMO. PRINC. The conquest of Dacia is here commemorated by a male figure seated upon the now useless armour, and in token of the entire subjugation of this province, the figure has his hands tied behind him. The conquest of Dacia, which occurred in 103 A.D., cost Trajan fifteen years' war Trajan, the more readily to keep the Dacians in order, built that magnificent bridge over the Danube, consisting of twenty arches, each 170 feet span, and sixty feet in breadth.

HADRIAN.

A.D. 117 to A.D. 138.

HADRIANVS. AVG. COS. III. P. P. Profile bust, bearded.

MONETA. AVG. The Goddess Moneta standing.

P. M. TR. P. COS. III. The Emperor standing with the hasta pura and ears of corn.

ROMVLO. CONDITORI. Romulus marching to right, carrying a trophy on his left shoulder, a javelin in his right hand.

SALVS. AVG. Hygieia standing feeding a serpent which is rising from an altar.

P.M.TR.P.COSIII. Across the field, VOT.PV. A veiled Priestess standing with upraised hands, offering up prayers. May have been struck to record the general prayers which were offered up for the recovery of Hadrian during the painful illness which terminated his life.

ALEXANDRIA. A female, standing holding in her right hand the sistrum. Records the travels of Hadrian.

NILVS. A colossal river god whose upper half is naked, reclining on the bank of a stream, with a reed in his right hand and a cornucopia on his left arm.

SABINA, WIFE OF HADRIAN.

SABINA.AVGVSTA. Profile bust of the Empress.

VENERI.GENETRICI. An elegant female figure standing, attired in light robes, holding a portion of her dress with one hand, and an apple in the other.

ANTONINVS PIUS.

A.D. 138 to A.D. 161.

IMP.T.AEL.CAES.HADRI.ANTONINVS. Profile bust.

AVG.PIVS.P.M.TR.P.COS.DES.II. Equity personified.

ANTONINVS.AVG.PIVS.P.V.TR.P.XIII. Laureated bust of Pius.

COS.IIII. Hygieia standing.

COS.IIII. Fortune standing with attributes.

LIB.IIII.TR.POT.COS.IIII. A robed female standing, with tessera and cornucopia.

COS.IIII. A female standing, holding ears of corn in her right hand, her left being placed on armour.

VOTA . SVSCEPTA . DEC . III . COS . IIII . The Emperor, clothed as Chief Priest, sacrificing.

PIETATI . AVG . COS . IIII . Faustina, holding two children in her arms, whilst two others stand at her side.

DIVVS . ANTONINVS . Naked head of the Emperor.

CONSECRATIO . A magnificent rogus or funeral pile.

DIVO . PIO . An altar in the centre of which is a grated door.

ANTONINVS . AVG . PIVS . P . P . TR . P . COS . III . Bare head of Antoninus.

AVRELIVS . CAESAR . AVG . PII . F . COS . This very interesting coin bears on the reverse the naked head of the youthful Marcus Aurelius, with curly hair, and his shoulders covered with the laticlavium fibulated. This was minted A.D. 140, the year in which Antoninus, having given him his daughter Faustina in marriage, advanced Aurelius to the Fasces.

ITALIA . A majestic female, attired in magnificent robes, is seated on a celestial globe; she is crowned with turrets, to denote the very numerous cities of which she is the mother. In her right hand she holds a scorpion, and in her left the wand of divinity, by which she claims universal power, as the "Bountiful queen of the world."

TR . POT . XX in field, S.C. Fortune standing.

FAUSTINA, SEN.

DIVA . FAVSTINA . Draped bust of Empress, hair decorated with pearls.

AETERNITAS. A robed female standing, holding a floating veil over her head. In her right hand she supports a globe.

CONCORDIA. The Emperor and Empress joining hands.

AVGVSTA. The Empress veiled, and holding in her right hand the wand of divinity.

As foregoing, but with the addition of a torch in one hand.

AETERNITAS. Veiled female, holding an orb, and a long rudder.

FAUSTINA, JUN.

FAVSTINA. AVGVSTA. Draped bust, of Fortuna.

DIANA. LVCIF. Diana standing with long torch. Diana is here represented in her capacity of Genetyllis.

COMMODUS.

A.D. 180 to A.D. 192.

M. AVREL: COMOD (sic). AVG. Youthful bust of Commodus laureated, beardless.

TR. P. VI. IMP. II. COS. P. P. Ceres seated.

M. COMM. ANT. AVG. P. BRIT. FEL. Laureated and bearded head of Commodus, who here takes the name of Britannicus.

FORT. RED. IMP. TR. P. VII. COS. COS. P. P. Fortune seated with attributes.

APOL. MONET. P. M. TR. P. XV. COS. VI. Apollo leaning in an easy and graceful attitude, on a column.

SEVERUS. A.D. 193 TO 211.

SEVERVS. AVG. PART. MAX. Bearded and laureated head of Severus.

PART. ARAB. PART. ADIAB. Two captives in oriental garb seated at the foot of a trophy. The device here alludes to the successes of Severus, A.D. 195, when he crossed the Euphrates to chastise the Qsrhoeni, Adiabeni, and Arabians. He obtained some success over the Parthians, but apparently not in open warfare, since he could not assume the title of Parthicus, which, oddly enough, occurs three times on this coin.

S. P. Q. R. Emperor on horseback.

ADVENTVI. AVG. FELICISSIMO. The Emperor on horseback, with right hand raised. Struck to record the Emperor's return to Rome, A.D. 196.

FORTVNI. REDVCI. Draped female figure standing with cornucopia and olive branch.

MONETA. AVG. Female standing with cornucopia and balance. The silver coins were struck in the temple of Juno Moneta, hence the device.

PM. TR. P. III. COS. II. P. P. Jupiter marching with attributes.

P. M. TR. P. XVII. COSII. P. P. The Emperor standing with spear and shield. (This is a Roman forgery).

SECVRITAS. Security personified.

VICT. AVG. COS. II. P. P. Victory marching.

RESTITVTOR. VRBIS. The Emperor standing sacrificing. The compliment conveyed in this reverse was well merited by this Emperor. He found an exhausted exchequer, yet he left behind him more money than any of his predecessors, and left the Empire strong and lasting to his sons.

VIRTVS. AVG. COS. III. P. P. Armed male figure.

VOTA. Emperor sacrificing.

DIVO. SEVERO. PIO. Bare head of Severus.

CONSECRATIO. A magnificent rogus, on the top of which is seen a laurel crown.

JULIA DOMNA.

WIFE OF SEVERUS.

IVLIA. AVGVSTA. Profile of the Empress. The hair is curiously braided, brought over the ears and turned up at the back of the head.

CONCORDIA. Seated with cornucopia and patera.

DIANA. LVCIFERA. Diana Lucifera standing holding a long torch. In the field the moon in crescent.

As foregoing, but without the moon.

HILARITAS. Draped standing female figure, holding cornucopia and palm branch.

MATRI. CASTRORVM. Veiled female standing before an altar, with a censer in the left, and a patera in the right hand. Opposite the altar, two military standards.

PVDICITIA. An elegant female figure, veiled and seated.

PONTIF. TR. P. X. COS. II. The Emperor standing: at his feet are three captives.

LATEITIA. PVBL. Fortune standing with attributes. The device on this coin appears to record the general rejoicings which took place on the passing of an Edict of Antoninus Caracalla, which conferred on all the free inhabitants of the Empire. "The name and privileges of Roman Citizens." Gibbon's Decline, vol. 1., pp. 205-214.

MARS. VICTOR. Mars marching with spear and trophy.

P. M. TR. P. XVIII. CO. IIII. P. P. Aesculapius standing holding the mystic staff and serpent, at his feet a globe.

VENVS. VICTRIX. Venus Victrix marching.

GETA.

A. D. 211 TO 212.

P. SEPT. GETA. CAES. PONT. Youthful, unlaureated head of Geta. shoulders draped with paludamentum.

FELICITAS. PVBLICA. Felicity, personified by a female standing and holding a cornucopia and caduceus. This reverse was probably struck upon a reconciliation taking place between the brothers. Dio tells us that when their dissensions became public the senate ordered a sacrifice to the gods, and particularly to Concord.

ELAGABALUS.

A. D. 218 TO 222.

IMP. ANTONINVS. PIVS. AVG. Laureated head of Emperor.

VICTORIA. AVG. Victory flying, in her hands a thunderbolt, a her feet two shields. In field a star. Struck A.D. 218.

SVMMVS. SACERDOS. AVG. The Emperor standing by an altar, with fire on it. In his right hand he holds a

patera, in his left a palm branch. In the field a star. There are many slight differences in the type of this reverse, a favourite device of this Emperor, as high priest of the sun.

FIDES . EXERCITVS . A female figure magnificently robed seated holding in her right hand a bird, and in her left a laurel crown.

LIBERTAS . AVG. Liberty standing, holding the freed-man's cap and a wand. A star in the field.

P . M . TR . P . III . COS . III . P . P . A female standing, holding a cornucopia. At her feet a globe.

P . M . TR . P . III . COS . III . P . P . The Sun marching. In his left hand he holds a whip. A star in the field. This dates A.D. 220, and the device is complimentary to the Emperor as the high priest of that great luminary.

P . M . TR . P . IIII . COSIII . P . P . The sun marching.

SVMMVS . SACERDOS. The Emperor sacrificing. A star in the field.

JULIA SOAEMIAS.

(MOTHER OF ELAGABOLUS.)

IVLIA . SOAEMIAS . Head of this Princess. The hair neatly dressed and bust closely draped.

VENVS . CÆLESTIS . Venus Cælestis. Astarte or Urania, in full robes, standing. In her right hand she holds the apple, and the lance or wand of divinity in her left.

As foregoing. Venus or Astoreth standing, in her right hand an apple, and in her left a palm branch.

VENVS. CAELESTIS. Beautiful figure of Venus Urania, magnificently attired, seated on a throne, holding the wand of divinity and the apple, which a naked Cupid is catching at.

JULIA MAESA.

(GRANDMOTHER OF ELAGABOLUS.)

IVLIA. MAESA. AVG. Profile of Empress. The hair neatly gathered into plait behind.

FORIVNA. REDVX. Female figure seated with attributes of fortune.

IVNO. Juno standing with her peacock.

PIETAS. AVG. Julia Maesa in full robes, standing before an altar, from which fire ascends. This lady was a Priestess of the sun at Emesa, and was called Maesa; Mese in the Syro-Phœnician language, meaning sun.

SAECVLI. FELICITAS. The Empress standing at an altar, holding in her right hand a patera, in her left a long caduceus. On her head is a chaplet. In the field a star, having direct reference to her office of Priestess.

ALEXANDER SEVERUS.

A.D. 222 to A.D. 235.

IMP. M. AVR. SEV. ALEXANDER. AVG. Laureated head of Alexander Severus.

ANNONA. AVG. Ceres standing with cornucopia and ears of wheat.

AEQVITAS. AVG. A robed female standing, holding a balance in the right hand, and a cornucopia on the left arm. The scales, that natural emblem of justice, are used by Persius to express the decision of right and wrong.

FIDES. MILITVM. A female, standing and holding two standards.

IOVI. VLTORI. Noble figure of Jupiter, the avenger seated, holding in his right hand victory, in his left the hasta.

LIBERALITAS. AVG. Liberty standing, a holding cornucopia and a tessera. Minted A.D. 222.

MARS. VLTOR. Mars marching, with spear and shield.

P. M. TR. P. COS. The Emperor seated on a chair, and holding the sacred patera.

P. M. TR. P. COS. Hygeia seated, feeding a serpent out of a petera.

P. M. TR. P. COS. Mars holding the hasta pura and an olive branch.

P. M. TR. P. V. COS. II. P. P. Ceres standing sacrificing at an altar.

P. M. TR. P. VI. COS. II. P. P. Equity standing with attributes

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P. M. TR. P. VIII. COS. III. P. P. Mars marching with spear and shield.

P. M. TR. P. X. COS. AVG. Apollo standing, holding a globe.

PROVIDENTIA. AVG. Ceres standing with her attributes, before an altar.

SPES. PVBLICA. Hope personified, in her right hand is a lotus flower, whilst she holds back her robe with the left.

VICTORIA. AVG. Victory marching. This device alludes to the Emperor's victory over Artaxerxes, king of Persia.

VIRTVS. AVG. The Emperor standing, his right foot raised In his right hand he holds a globe, and in his left the hasta.

IOVI. PROPVGNATORI. Jupiter.

MARTI. PACIFERO. Mars standing, holding in his right hand an olive branch, and in his left the hasta.

BARBIA ORBIANA, A.D. 226.

SALL. BARBIA. ORBIANA. AVG. Bust of the Empress, with the hair closely and elaborately dressed.

CONCORDIA. AVGG. A stately female figure seated on a throne, with patera in her right hand, and supporting a double cornucopia on her left arm.

JULIA MAMAEA, A.D. 235.

IVLIA. MAMAEA. AVG. The Empress with her hair neatly dressed and bound with an anadema.

FELICITAS. PVBLICA. Female figure in elegant attire, seated, with a caduceus in one hand, typical of celestial benefits, and in the other a cornucopia symbolical of earthly enjoyment.

VENERI. FELICI. Mamaea attired as Venus: in her right hand she holds the rod of divinity, whilst on her left arm she supports an infant.

VESTA. Veiled female supporting a figure, probably the idol which was supposed to confer universal rule upon those who kept it; and was consequently committed to the custody of one vestal only.

VESTA. The goddess standing, holding the hasta pura and a patera.

MAXIMINUS.

From A.D. 235 to 238.

IMP. MAXIMINVS. PIVS. AVG. Laureated head of Emperor.

SALVS. AVGVSTI. Hygeia standing, feeding a serpent out of a patera.

FIDES . MILITVM . The Emperor standing and holding in each hand a military standard.

GORDIANUS.

A.D. 238 to A.D. 244.

IMP . GORDIANVS . PIVS . FEL . AVG . Head of Gordian, with radiated crown.

AETERNITATI . AVG . Female figure standing, lifting up the right hand; in the left a globe.

FEL . TEMP . Draped female, holding long caduceus and cornucopia.

LAETITIA . AVG . N . A stolated figure standing, holding in her right hand a wreath, in the left a sceptre.

ROMAE . AETERNAE . Roma Nicephora, seated on a throne, holding the hasta pura in the left hand, and the figure of victory in her right. This device alludes to the eternity promised to Rome by all the oracles of antiquity, and echoed by all the Latin poets.

VICTORIA . AETER . A figure of victory, at her feet a captive.

PHILIP 1st.

A.D. 243 to A.D. 249.

IMP . M . IVL . PHILIPPVS . AVG . Head of Philip wearing the radiated crown.

ANNONA . AVGG . Annona standing with cornucopiae. This reverse records the donation of grain given by the Emperor and his son, A.D. 247. Of these devices there appears to have been Abundantia, a profuse giver of all things at all times. Copia, who seems to have been restricted to provisions, and Annona to the management of the supply for the current year.

FIDES . EXERCITVS. Four legionary standards. The standards represent the four divisions of the legions. The Velites. Hastati. Principes and Triarii.

FIDES . MILITVM. A female, supporting two legionary standards.

IOVI . CONSERVAT. Jupiter holding in his right hand a sceptre and in his left a spear.

SAECVLARES . AVGG. A cippus inscribed COS . III. This coin was struck in the third Consulship of Philip A.D. 248, in which year he celebrated the Secular Games, in honour of the completion of the 1000'th anniversary of Rome.

Same legend. A stag. In the exergue, OI.

VICTORIA . AVG. Victory marching. holding a laurel crown in her right, and a spear in her left hand.

Same legend. Victory marching, holding laurel crown and palm branch.

MARCIA OTACILIA.

WIFE OF PHILIP.

MARCIA . OTACILIA . SEVERA. Head of Empress.

PIETAS . AVG . N. Figure of a female, with an infant, standing.

PIETAS . AVGVSTAE. Piety personified, standing.

PHILIP THE YOUNGER.

A.D. 237 to A.D. 249.

M . IVL . PHILIPPVS . CAES. Youthful head of the younger Philip crowned.

PRINCIPI . IVVENTVTIS. The young Prince habited in a camp dress holding a globe in his right hand, and the hasta pura in his left. This distinction was

often the reward of merit, and at all times a badge of honour, as well as a symbol of authority. Marcellus is described by Virgil as "purâ juvenis qui nititur hasta."

DECIUS.

A.D. 249 to 251.

IMP . C . M . Q . TRAIANVS . DECIVS . AVG . Bust of the Emperor crowned. The brow is wrinkled, and the face indicative of age.

GENIVS . EXERC . ILLYRICANI . A naked genius standing, holding a patera in the right hand, and a cornucopia on the left arm; behind him is a military standard. This coin was struck 249, to shew that Decius justly enough ascribed his advancement to the Illyrican army; "a militibus Illyricianis Imperator factus, ab Senatu Augustus appellatus est."

PANNONIAE . Two stolated and veiled females standing in the middle of the field, the one holding a sceptre, and the other a military standard. This interesting device illustrates the ancient divisions of the Province into superior and inferior; the separation being made by the river Arabo. One of the divisions is called Pannonia prima, and the other Pannonia secunda, which by the standard is shown to have been garrisoned.

ETRUSCILLA.

WIFE OF DECIUS.

HER . ETRVSCILLA . AVG . Profile bust of Empress, with her hair elaborately dressed, and wearing a diadem.

PVDICITIA . AVG . A robed female seated; in her left hand she holds a long sceptre, and with her right she lifts the flammeum, or bridal veil, which covers her head. Chastity was a virtue highly prized by the Romans.

GALLUS.

A.D. 251 to A.D. 254.

IMP. CAES. C. VIB. TREB. GALLVS. AVG. Head of Gallus with short hair and beard, wearing the radiated crown.

SALVS. AVGG. Hygeia richly attired feeding a serpent out of a patera. The malady which probably gave occasion for the striking of this medal seems to be that disease which travelled from Ethiopia, and is said to have raged for fifteen years, destroying incredible numbers of people, so that the altars of the gods were earnestly resorted to, and each particular one was invoked to arrest the plague. From the AVGG, for Augustorum, it is clear that his son, Volusian, was reigning at this period as joint Emperor.

VOLUSIANUS.

SON OF GALLUS.

A.D. 251 to 254.

IMP. C. C. VIB. VOLVSIANVS. AVG. Crowned head of Volusian with close-cut hair and whiskers on the side of face only.

VIRTVS. AVG. Volusian standing with spear and shield. This was minted on the occasion of the father and son's magnificent entry into Rome, and was intended to shew that they obtained the throne by valour, and not by treachery.

VALERIANUS.

A.D. 254 TO 260.

VALERIANVS. P. F. AVG. Crowned head of Valerian, with hair cut short; the face is fat, and neck thick, and shoulders draped.

ORIENS . AVGG. Figure of Apollo walking, his head radiated, his right hand raised in command, his garments floating behind him. This device was, probably, minted with a view to appease "the lord of the silver bow,' so that the disease (mentioned in the description of No. 1 Gallus), may be stayed. Whence Shakespeare:

> "Apollo's angry; and the heavens themselves
> Do strike at my injustice."

PIETAS. Pontifical implements.

VIRTVS . AVGG. Two military figures standing. This device was struck in honour of his valour and probity; and certainly none deserved it better.

GALLIENUS.

A.D. 260 TO A.D. 268.

GALLIENVS . AVG. Crowned bust of Gallienus.

DIANAE . CONS . AVG. A stag standing in the exergue IX. Besides the stag, which was sacred to Diana, there appears a great many other animals on the coins of Gallienus, as the lion, panther, wolf, bull, goat, boar, hippocampus; there are also the eagle, ibis, and stork, and the monsters, centaur, griffin, capricorn, &c. These were all sacred to the tutular deities, to whom Gallienus offered so many supplications, that he obtained the title of "Conservator Pietatis."

FELICITAS . TEMP. A female figure standing. From history it would appear that his chief happiness consisted in gluttony.

FORTVNA . AVG. Fortune standing with rudder placed on a globe, and other attributes.

VIRTVS . AVG. A soldier holding a shield in his right hand, and in his left a spear.

SALONINA.

WIFE OF GALLIENUS.

SALONINA. AVG. Head of Salonina, with hair neatly dressed and wearing a diadem.

FECVNDITAS. AVG. Elegant figure of the Empress, standing, holding a cornucopia, at her feet a child. In the field, L.

IVNO. REGINA. A veiled female standing, with the sacred virga in her left hand, and a patera in her right. This is in compliment to an Empress, "moribus sanctis," as a mark of decorum and decency.

SALONINUS.

A.D. 253 TO A.D. 259.

P. C. L. VALERIANVS. NOB. CAES. An interesting head of the youthful Prince crowned.

PRINCIPI. IVVENT. A young warrior bare-headed, standing in a graceful attitude, on his right hand he supports a globe, whilst in his left he holds a spear with its point to the ground; the first shewing the world ruled, and the other that arms were ready against such as disturb the public peace.

POSTUMUS. (In Billon.)

A.D. 258 TO A.D. 267.

IMP. C. POSTVMVS. P. F. V. G. Fine profile of Postumus, head crowned, and bust draped.

HERC. DEVSONIENSI. Spirited figure of Hercules standing naked, with club and lion's skin.

PAX. AVG. Peace standing. In the field, O.

IMP. POSTVMVS. P. F. AVG. Head of Postumus.

LAETITIA. A galley. In the exergue, S. C. This device records the rejoicing which took place on his German victories.

VICTORINUS.

A.D. 265 TO 267.

(Billon.)

IMP.C.VICTORINVS.P.F.AVG. Profile of Victorinus, with a full beard, shoulders draped, and head crowned.

INVICTVS. The sun marching. This invincible man was murdered after a reign of only two years.

PAX.AVG. Peace standing with olive branch and spear.

PAX.AVG. Peace standing with the olive branch and spear.

PIETAS.AVG. A female figure standing. Minted to record his sacrifices to the gods on attaining to the sovereign power.

VIRTVS.AVG. A soldier standing, holding in his right hand a shield, in his left a spear.

TETRICUS.

A.D. 267 TO 272.

(Billon.)

IMP.PES.TETRICVS.P.F.AVG. Crowned head of Tetricus, with flowing beard.

Legend on reverse defaced. Female figure standing.

HILARITAS.AVGG. A female figure standing, with cornucopia and palm branch. This device indicative of general joy, with peace and plenty, would from the letter G being doubled indicating two Emperors, be intended, no doubt, to record the general rejoicings which took place upon the younger Tetricaus being elected Augustus with his father.

VALENS.

A.D. 364 TO A.D. 378.

D.N.VALENS.P.F.AVG. Draped profile bust of Valens, wearing a diadem.

RESTITVTOR. REIPVBLICAE. The Emperor standing, holding in his right hand the labarum, whilst his left supports a winged victory towards which he is looking. In the exergue, TES.

SALVS. REIP. The Emperor standing in a military habit, holding the standard of the cross, and a victory standing on a globe, his right foot is placed upon a kneeling captive. Two stars in the field. In the exergue, SMTES.

VRBS. ROMA. Rome personified seated, holding in her right hand victory, in her left the hasta pura. In the exergue TR. PS.

GLORIA. ROMANORVM. A military figure holding in his left hand the labarum, and dragging a captive by his hair. In the exergue, P. CON.

GRATIANUS.

A.D. 375 TO A.D. 383.

D. N. GRATIANVS. P. F. AVG. Bust of Gratian, wearing a diadem, and draped with paludamentum.

GLORIA. NOVI. SAECLI. (*Sic.*) The Emperor with the labarum and resting his hand on a shield. In the exergue, P. CON.

VIRTVS. ROMANORVM. The Emperor seated in a chair of state holding in his right hand a globe, significant of universal power, and in his left, the hasta pura, emblematical of mercy. In the exergue, TR. P. S.

VRBS. ROMA. Rome seated, holding a victory. In exergue, T. R. PS.

ROMAN BRASS COINS.

1st BRASS.

POMPEY THE GREAT.

B.C. 106 TO B.C. 48.

MGN. Double head of Janus. Reverse; prow of ship. Above PIVS. Below IMP.

2nd BRASS.

AUGUSTUS.

B.C. 48 TO A.D. 14.

AVGVSTVS.TRIBVNIC.POTEST. Within a garland. C.N. PISO.C.N.F.R.A.A.A.F.F. Signifying, ex-Auro, Argento, Aere, Flando Feriundo. In the centre an archaie S.C. Cneius Piso was Consul under Augustus.

AVGVSTVS. Bare head of Augustus. Reverse; an eagle with expanded wings, standing on a globe. In field, S.C.

AVGVST.PONT.MAX.TRIBVNIC.PO. Bare head of Augustus. M.MAECILIVS.TVLLVS.III.VIR.A.A.A.F.F. In the centre of the field, S.C.

DIVVS.AVGVSTVS.PATER. Radiated head of Augustus. S.C. A veiled female seated.

1st BRASS.

ANTONIA.

B.C. 38 TO A.D. 38.

ANTONIA.AVGVSTA.

TI.CLAVDIVS.CAESAR.AVG.P.M.TR.P.IMP. Male figure standing between the letters S.C.

1st BRASS.

GERMANICVS.

B.C. 15 TO A.D. 19.

GERMANICVS . CAESAR . TI . AVG . F . DIVI . AVG . Bare head of Germanicvs.

TI . CAESAR . DIVI . AVGVST . PRON . AVG . P . M . TR . P . IIII. In centre, S . C.

1st BRASS.

CLAUDIUS.

A.D. 41 TO A.D. 54.

TI . CLAVDIVS . CAESAR . AVG . P . M . TR . P . IMP . P . P. Bare head of Claudius. Behind the head a countermark, (countermarks are often seen on Roman coins, and were used to render them current in other states.)

EX . S . C . OB . CIVES . SERVATOS . Inscribed within in an oaken garland. This honour appears to have been awarded to Claudius for his recalling those who had been banished by Caligula without sufficient cause.

2nd BRASS.

CLAUDIUS.

TI . CLAVDIVS . CAESAR . AVG . TR . P . P . Bare head of Claudius.

LIBERTVS . AVGVSTA . Liberty personified, holding the freedman's cap in her right hand. In field, S . C.

3rd BRASS.

TI . CLAVDIVS . CASESAR . AVG . An altar.

IMP . COS . DES . II . PON . M . TR . P . In centre of field, S . C.

1st BRASS.

NERO.

NERO . CLAVDIVS . CAESAR . AVG . GER . P . M . TR . P . IMP . P . P. Laureated head of Nero.

ROMA . In exergue, S . C . In field, a galeated female of majestic aspect; intended to represent Rome.

2nd BRASS.

NERO . CESAR . *(Sic)* AVG . GERM . IMP . Laureated head of Emperor.

PACE . P . R . VBIQ . PARTA . IANVM . CLVSIT . The temple of Janus, with closed doors. In the field, S . C .

VESPASIAN.

1st BRASS.

IMP . CAES . VESPASIAN . AVG . PM . TR . P . PP . COS . III . The head of the Emperor laureated. The stern and fixed features of Vespasian are strongly marked.

IVDAEA . CAPTA . The Emperor standing: in his right hand a spear; his right foot on a helmet: in the centre of the device stands a palm tree; at the foot of which is seated in an attitude of grief, a weeping female. In the exergue, S. C. Perhaps to us this coin, the Judea Capta of Vespasian, is one of the most interesting, and serves to show how vividly single facts in history are proved by the devices on coins. There are several varieties of this particular type, all are of universal interest, relating as they do to the destruction of the Holy City Jerusalem and the conquest of Judea by Titus the son of Vespasian, the theme of so much thought and of so much song. All these coins bear on the reverse a Palm tree, the distinguishing product of the country. Some like the present have the Emperor and sedent female figure, others the fettered Jewish Chief Simon and under the palm tree sits a weeping and downcast Jewish Maiden with an expression of unutterable woe. Simon held out against the power of Rome with great obstinacy, and the city was only ceded bit by bit, the Jews retiring within the second and third wall only as their numbers were so thinned by slaughter that they could not longer defend the larger space.

VESPASIAN.

2nd BRASS.

IMP. VESPASIAN. AUG. COS. III. Laureated head of Vespasian.

" S. C. An eagle with expanded wings.

DOMITIAN.

1st BRASS.

IMP. CAES. DOMITIAN. AVG. GERM. COS. XI. Laureated head.

IOVI. CONSERVAT. Jupiter standing between the letters S. C. In his right hand a thunderbolt; in the left a lance.

DOMITIAN.

2nd BRASS.

IMP. CAESAR. DOMIT. AVG. GERM. COS. XV. Laureated head of Domitian.

FORTVNA. A female standing in an easy and very graceful attitude. In field, S. C.

As above COS. XXI.

MONETA. AVGVSTI. Equity standing with balance and cornucopia. In field, S. C.

NERVA.

2nd BRASS.

IMP. NERVA. CAES. AVG. GERM. COS. XII. CENS. PER. P. P. Laureated profile of the Emperor.

AVGVST. In the field, S. C. A female standing, holding a cornucopia.

TRAJAN.

1st BRASS.

IMP. CAES. NERVA. TRAIANO. AVG. GER. DAC. P. M. T. R. P. COS. V. P. P. Fine laureated profile bust of Trajan. This coin is in fine preservation, and covered with light green patina.

S. P. Q. R. OPTIMO. PRINCIPI. In the exergue, S. C.

Legend on obverse and reverse as foregoing, Ceres standing before an altar holding in her right hand ears of corn, and in her left the hasta pura.

ROMAE AETERNAE. A dignified female figure, wearing helmet and armour, is seated on a pile of arms; in her left hand she holds the hasta pura, whilst her right supports a winged victory. In the field, S.C.

S.P.Q.R.OPTIMO.PRINCIPI. In ex. S.C. The Emperor on a richly-caparisoned horse, darting a javelin at a prostrate foe, who by his trousers is known to represent a Dacian. A coin of this type was found embedded in the mortar of that portion of wall still standing at Wroxeter. The date of minting was in the Fifth Consulship of Trajan, which corresponds with A.D. 105.

2nd BRASS.

IMP.NERVA.CAES.TRAIAN.AVG.GER. Crowned or radiated head of Emperor.

TR.P. Female, seated on Curule chair, composed of a double cornucopia. In exergue, S.C.

HADRIAN.

1st BRASS.

IMP.CAES.TRAIAN.HADRI. P.M.TR.P.COS. Laureated head of Hadrian.

RESTITVTORI.ORBIS.TERRARVM. The Emperor raising up a prostrate female. In exergue, S.C.

HADRIANVS.AVGVSTVS. Laureated head of Emperor.

COS.III. A female figure, standing in a graceful attitude, holding the hasta pura.

2nd BRASS.

HADRIANVS.AVGVSTVS. Laureated head of Hadrian.

FELICITATI.AVG.COS.III.P.P. A galley with the Gubernator and six rowers.

ANTONINVS . AVG . PIVS . P . P . TR . P . COS . III . Laureated head of Emperor.

ANTONINVS PIVS.

1st BRASS.

ANTONINVS . AUG . In exergue, COS . IIII . Stolated female figure standing. Between the letters, S . C . In her right hand the caduceus. In her left an olive branch.

ROMAE . ATERNAE . In field, S . C . A dignified female, with helmet and military vestments, seated in a commanding attitude on a pile of armour; her left hand holds the hasta pura, on her right she supports a winged victory, which presents a laurel wreath to the "Eternal Mistress."

Legend obliterated. Laureated head of Antoninus Pivs.

TR . POT . XX . In field, S . C . Fortune personified.

2nd BRASS.

ANTONINVS . AVG . PIVS . P . P . TR . P . COS . IIII . Head of Emperor.

GENIO . SENATVS. Figure of Genius standing between the letters S . C . In his right hand a laurel wreath; in his left a sceptre.

ANTONINVS . AVG . PIVS . P . P . TRP . The wolf suckling Romulus and Remus.

FAVSTINA.

1st BRASS.

WIFE OF PIVS.

DIVA . FAVSTINA . Head of Empress, with the hair magnificently decorated with pearls.

AVGVSTA. Ceres standing holding a torch and ears of corn. In the field, S . C .

MARCVS AVRELIVS.

1st BRASS.

AVRELIVS . CAESAR . ANTON . AVG . PII . F . Bare head of Aurelivs.

TR . POT . X . COS . III . Minerva standing.

FAVSTINA, JUN.

WIFE OF M. AVRELIVS.

FAVSTINA . AVG . PII . AVG . FILIA . *Beautiful head of Favstina crowned.

VENERI . GENETRICI . The Empress standing half dressed. In field, S . C .

CARACALLA.

IMP . C . M . AVR . ANTONINVS . PONT . AVG . Extremely fine head of Caracalla, laureated.

SECVRITAS . PUBLICA . Security personified.

IMP . CAES . M . AVR . ANT . AVG . P . TR . P . II . Laureated bust.

SPES . PVBLICA . Hope walking. (off?)

SALVS . ANTONINI . AVG . Hygeia standing feeding a serpent out of a petera.

GALLIENUS.

GALLIENVS . AVGG . Head of Emperor crowned.

DIANAE . CONS . A stag.

LIBERO . P . CONS . AVG . A panther. In exergue, E .

TETRICUS.

IMP . TETRICVS . P . F . AVG .

Reverse imperfect, figure standing.

SALVS. AVG. Hygeia standing feeding a serpent out of a patera. Struck to propitiate the gods during the Emperor's illness.

SALVS. AVG. Hope walking, holding in her right hand a flower whilst her left is employed to hold up her robes, so as not to impede her onward progress. This elegant device of Hope appears to have been a great favourite, as it is found on the coins of many of the Roman emperors.

VBERITAS. AVGG. A female standing, holding a cornucopia and a purse.

VICTORIA. AVG. Victory marching.

TETRICUS, (JUN.)

A.D. 267 TO A.D. 272.

C. PIVEVS. TET. CAES. Crowned head of the younger Tetricus. Youthful countenance.

SPES. AVG. Hope walking.

CLAUDIUS II. (Gothicus.)

A.D. 268 TO A.D. 270.

IMP. CLAVDIVS. AVG. Very characteristic head of Emperor wearing the radiated crown.

CONSERVAT. AVG. The Emperor standing armed, in his right hand he holds a figure of victory. This device was, probably, meant to record his victory over the Goths, whence his surname.

IOVI. CONSERVAT. Jupiter standing with attributes.

VBERITAS. AVG. Female, standing with cornucopia.

VIRTVS. AVG. Female figure standing.

VIRTVS. AVG. A soldier; in his right hand a laurel branch, in his left a spear, at his feet a shield.

VIRTVS. AVG. A soldier walking; in his right hand a spear, and carrying a trophy over his left shoulder.

CONCOR. AVG. Two veiled women, each holding a torch, and ears of corn.

TACITUS.

A. D. 275.

IMP. C. M. CL. TACITVS. AVG. Crowned bust of Tacitus.

CLEMTIA. *(Sic.)* AVG. Mars Pacifer marching. In the exergue, XXIZ.

TEMPORVM. FELICITAS. Felicity standing with cornucopia and long caduceus. In the field, A.A.

CARAUSIUS.

A.D. 287 TO A.D. 293.

ADVENTVS. AVG. The Emperor on horseback; his right hand raised holding a globe. In the exergue, M. L.

CONCORD. AVGG. Two figures joining hands. In the exergue, C. This device probably alludes to the acknowledgment of his title by Maximian, when the wily admiral by depriving him of his fleet had put it out of his power to punish him.

DINE. *(Sic.)* CONS. A stag. In the exergue, XX.

FIDES. MILITVM. A woman holding two standards.

LAETITIA. AVG. Female standing with ears of corn. In the field, S. P.

LEG. II. AVG. Capricorn. In the exergue, M. L.

MARS. Mars marching.

ORIENS. AVG. Sun marching, with whip.

PAX. AVG. Female standing with olive branch and hasta. In exergue, M. L.

Same legend. Peace personified. In field, P.

Same legend.—Peace standing with olive branch.

PAX. AVG. Female draped; in her left hand an olive branch, and in her right a spear. In the field, S. P.

Same legend.—Female standing between the letters, S. P. In the exergue, MLXXI.

PROVIDENTIA. A female figure standing holding in her right hand a globe, and in her left a spear. In the field, R. E.

IMP. CARAVSIVS. P. F. AVG. A Full faced bust of Carausius, bare headed; the hair cut square across the forehead.

SALVS. AVG. A female figure holding the hasta pura, standing by an altar feeding a snake.

The history of this fine and unique coin is as follows. It was found, years ago, at Wroxeter; and presented to Mr. Roach Smith, F.S.A., who engraved it for the second volume of his "Collectanea Antiqua," (from which the following account is given); and subsequently it was ceded with his London Collection to the British Museum, where it now is.

"It is the portrait which gives value to this remarkable piece. The gold, silver and brass coins of Carausius have uniformly a profile; and in no instance, save in this specimen, is

the head bare. It is either laureated, or helmeted, or radiated. Upon contemporary coins moreover it was not the practice to give a front face; and the exceptions are few. This fact coupled with that of the superior workmanship of our new specimen, suggests a belief that the portrait is the result of a careful and successful attempt by the artist to produce a portrait. Those who are familiar with the portraits of Carausius in the better preserved specimens, will recognise in the front face the peculiar character of the former with an expression of countenance indicative of decision and benignity which the side face does not always convey."

ALLECTUS.

A.D. 296.

IMP. ALLECTVS. P. F. AVG. Laureated head of Allectus. The shoulders draped.

FIDES. MILITVM. A female figure standing and holding an ensign in each hand. In the field, S. P. In exergue, C.

Same legend.—C. L. in the exergue.

IOVI. CONSERVATORI. Jupiter standing holding the hasta and a thunderbolt. In the field, S. P.

LAETITIA. AVG. A woman standing, holding in her right hand a branch, and in her left a javelin. In the field, C.

PAX. AVG. Peace standing, holding a flower in her right hand and the hasta pura in her left. In the field, S. P In exergue, C.

PROVIDENTIA. AVG. Female standing, holding a globe and hasta pura. In field, S. P. In exergue, C.

VIRTVS. AVG. A galley. In exergue, S. C.

CONSTANTIUS 1ST, (*Chlorus.*)

A.D. 305 TO 306.

CONSTANTIVS. NOB. CAES. Head of Constantius.

FIDES. MILITVM. AVGG. ET. CAESS. N. N. A female figure standing between two ensigns, A. Q. P. In exergue.

FORTVNAE. REDVCI. AVGG. NN. Fortune standing. In field, B. and a star. In exergue, TR.

GENIO. POPVLI. ROMANI. Figure standing at an altar; right hand holding patera, left cornucopia.

GENIO. POPVLI. ROMANI. Genius standing with his attributes.

GLORIA. EXERCITVS. A military ensign between two soldiers with spears and shields. In exergue, PLC.

HERCVLI. VICTORI. Hercules, standing; his right hand on his club, his left holding the apples of Hesperides, the lion's skin thrown over his arm. In field, VI. In exergue, SIS..

IOVI. CONSERVAT. Jupiter standing, holding a victory on a globe, and the hasta pura. In field, VI. In exergue, SIS. B.

IOVI. CONSERVATORI. A similar type. At the foot of Jupiter an eagle. In field, Z. In exergue, S M K.

VIRTVS. AVGG. ET. CAESS. N. N. The Emperor on horseback riding over two prostrate figures. In exergue, Q. S.

PIETAS . AVG . The Emperor raising up a woman, who kneels at his feet. In field, C . In exergue, P . TR.

VNDIQUE . VICTORES . The Emperor standing in a military habit, holding a victory and a spear. In field, B .

HELENA.

BORN 248, DIED 328.

FL . HELENA . AVGVSTA. Head of Empress.
PIETAS . AVGVSTAE . Female figure with two children.

PROVIDENTIA . AVGG . The Prœtorian Camp.

MAXIMINUS DAZA.

A.D. 308 TO 313.

IMP . MAXIMINVS . P . F . AVG . Youthful head of Maximus, laureated, shoulders draped.
GENIO . CAESARIS . Genius standing holding a patera and cornucopia. In field, a star and Δ . In exergue, SM . TS.

CONCORD . IMPERII . Female holding hasta pura. In field, VI. In exergue, SIS . V .

GENIO . POP . ROM . Genius standing holding a patera and cornucopia. In field, T . F . In exergue, S . TR .

VIRTVS . EXERCITVS . A military figure marching, with trophy In field, a star and A . In exergue, ANT .

LICINIUS.

A.D. 307 TO A.D. 324.

IMP . LICINIVS . P . F . AVG . Laureated head of Licinius.
GENIO . POP . ROM . Genius personified. In exergue, VTR .

SOLI. INVICTO. COMITI. The sun marching. In the exergue, SVR. L. Others with PLN. in exergue.

CONSTANTINUS MAGNUS.

A.D. 306 TO A.D. 337.

ADVENTVS. AVG. N. The Emperor on horseback, before him a captive, seated on the ground. A star in the field. In exergue, PLN.

GENIO. AVGVSTI. Genius standing, holding a patera and a cornucopia. In the field, a crescent and A. In exergue, SIS.

GENIO. CAESARIS. A similar type. In field, KA. P. In exergue, ALE.

TEMPORVM. FELICITAS. Felicity standing. In exergue, P. L. C.

VIRTVS. PREPETVA. AVG. Hercules strangling the Nemæan lion, his club on the ground. In exergue, P. T.

PRINCIPI. IVVENTVTIS. The Emperor standing laureated, as Prince of the Roman youth, holding two standards. In field, S. A. In exergue, P. T. R.

GLORIA. EXERCITVS. Before two soldiers stand two military standards; others with A. S. TRS. Various exergue.

Same legend, but with laurel crown between the standards. In exergue, P. CONST.

GENIO. POPVLI. ROMANI. Figure standing, holding a patera and cornucopia. In exergue, SMAR.

FELICITAS. TEMP. REPARATIO. A military figure on horseback, about to cast a javelin at a prostrate foe.

SOLI. INVICTO. COMITI. Apollo standing. In the field, T. F In exergue PLN.

Same legend and device. In exergue, Q. ARL. Others with A. F.

TRS. PLON. S. P. and various letters, in the field and exergue.

GLORIA. REIPVBLICAE. A winged victory marching with palm branch. In exergue, SRAQ.

GLORIA. EXERCITVS. Two soldiers standing; between them is the labarum or sacred standard charged with the monogram of Christ. In the exergue P. CONS. The labarum is described as a long pike, intersected by a transverse beam from which depended a silken veil charged with the sacred symbol. It is recorded by Eusebius that one evening as Constantine was meditating on the dangers of his position, he implored Divine assistance. It was then, as the sun was declining, that there suddenly appeared a pillar of light in the heavens, in the fashion of a cross with an inscription in Greek, "IN THIS OVERCOME."

Such an event caused the greatest astonishment in the Emperor and his whole army. Constantine the day following caused a royal standard to be made like that he had seen in the heavens, and commanded it to be carried before him in his wars, as an ensign of victory and celestial protection. He then embraced Christianity and made a public avowal of that sacred persuasion. The same symbol sanctified the arms of his soldiers, the cross glittered on their helmets, was engraved on their shields, and interwoven into their banners; and the consecrated emblems which adorned the person of the Emperor himself were distinguished only by richer materials and more exquisite workmanship.

FVNDAT. PACIS. An armed figure bearing a trophy, and dragging a captive by the hair. In exergue, RP. or RS or RT.

LIBERTAS. PVBLICA. Victory standing on a galley. In field B. In exergue, CONS.

MARTI. CONSERVAT. Mars standing. In exergue, P. TR.

FEL. TEMP. REPARATIO. A soldier standing in a ship; in his right hand a globe, in his left a spear, a captive kneeling at his feet.

PRINCIPI. IVVENTVTIS. The Emperor standing, holding two ensigns. A star in field. In exergue, P. LN

Same device. In field, S. R. In exergue, P. TR.

PROVIDENTIA. AVG. An altar supporting a globe inscribed VOTIS. XXX. In exergue, P. LON.

SOLI. INVICTO. COMITI. Figure standing, holding a globe and patera. In field, T. F. Another with P. LN in exergue.

Inscribed within a garland VOTIS. XX. In exergue, R. P.

SARMATIA. DEVICTA. An armed victory running; in her right hand a caduceus, in her left a palm branch.

SPES. REIPVBL. The Emperor on horseback, trampling on a captive. In exergue, P. LN.

VICTORIAE LAETAE. PRINCPII. *(Sic)*. Two victories standing supporting a shield resting on a cippus, and inscribed OT. P. R. In exergue, S. TR.

VIRTVS. EXERCIT. A magnificent trophy, at the foot of which are two captives. This device in all probability records the victories of Constantine over his rivals Maximinus and Licinius.

Same legend. A trophy inscribed VOT. XX. at the foot of which are two captives seated on the ground. In field, R. S. In exergue, P. LC.

BEATA. TRANQVILITAS. An altar inscribed VOTIS. XX. Upon it one large star; above are three small stars. In exergue, P. TR.

CONSTANTINUS MAGNVS.

Coins inscribed CONSTANTINOPOLIS, &c.

CONSTANTINOPOLIS. Helmeted and armed female bust, with hasta pura over her shoulders, intended to represent the new city, Constantinople.

Reverse. A winged victory marching with spear and shield. In the field, a star. In exergue, A. Q. F.

Another with P. CONS. in the exergue

Others with TR. P. TR. S. and other letters in exergue.

POP. ROMANVS. A youthful head laureated.

CONS. V. and a star within a garland. There are others with CONS B. CONS. T. CONS. E. and other letters.

POP. ROMANVS. Similar head.

CONS. C. or E. and other letters. A bridge with towers at the ends, resting on boats.

VRBS. ROMA. Helmeted head of Rome.

Without legend. Romulus and Remus suckled by the wolf. In the field, two stars. In the exergue, * P. L. C.

Others with TAP. TRP*. TRS. TSIS. and other letters in the exergue.

CRISPUS.

D. N. CRISPVS. NOB. CAES. Head of Crispus wearing helmet.

BEATA. TRANQVILITAS. A globe charged with three stars and placed on a cippus inscribed VOTIS. XX. In the exergue, PL. C. Constantine after having murdered his son, here wishes him a comfortable repose!

IOVI. CONSERVATORI. CAES. Jupiter standing. In the field a garland and E. In exergue, SMK.

SAECVLI. FELICITAS. A cippus: above a buckler, inscribed . AVG. In field, P. R. In exergue, R. Q.

IVL. CRISPVS. NOB. C. Helmeted head of Crispus.
CAESARVM. NOSTRORVM. Within a wreath VOT. X. In exergue, P. T. S.

Others with P. LOND. and ST. and other letters in exergue.

VIC: Two victories standing, on either side a cippus holding a buckler inscribed OT. P. R.

VIRTVS. EXERCITVS. Two captives seated at the foot of a spear, from which is suspended a square standard inscribed VOT. XX. In the exergue P. L. N. This device is probably intended to record the splendid daring and victory of Crispus over Licinius, at Byzantium, when he commanded the fleet of Constantine, and after two days' fighting forced the passage of the Hellespont. In this engagement one hundred and thirty vessels were destroyed, and five thousand men slain.

CONSTANTINUS II.

A.D. 335 to 340.

CONSTANTINVS. IVN. NOB. C. Bust of the younger Constantine laureated, holding a globe surmounted by a victory.

BEATA. TRANQVILITAS. An altar, on which stands a globe inscribed VOTIS. XX. above, three stars.

Another with P. LON. in exergue.

CAESARVM. NOSTRORVM. A laurel wreath, in which is inscribed VOT. X. In exergue, V. SIS. ***.

GLORIA. EXERCITVS. Two soldiers standing, between them are two standards. In exergue, P. R. S. Another has TR. S.

Same legend. A wreath between two standards. In exergue, S. CONS.

IOVI. CONSERVATORI. CAESS. Jupiter standing, holding a victory and the hasta. A captive at his feet. In field, B. Constantine the Great embraced Christianity A.D. 311, and here, on coins of his son struck probably about 335, we see a Pagan device.

VOTA. PVBLICA. Isis standing.

Same legend. Anubis standing.

VOT. XV. ET. XI. F. RT. within a laurel garland.

CONSTANS.

A.D. 335 to 350. 2nd BRASS.

D. N. CONSTANS. P. F. AVG. Diademed bust of Constans.

FEL. TEMP. REPARATIO. The Emperor standing on the deck of a galley, holding a victory in his right hand, and in his left, the labarum charged with the monogram of our Saviour; at his feet is a larger figure of victory kneeling. In the exergue, T. R. S. We here have a Christian device, whilst about the same year his brother's coins bare Pagan. (See above.)

Same legend. A male figure in complete armour, at his feet a a figure kneeling, behind whom is a tree.

3rd BRASS.

FL. CONSTANS. NOB. CAES. Laureated head of Constans.
GLORIA. EXERCITVS. Two soldiers, between them a standard. In exergue, SMNA.

CONSTANS. P. F. A. V. Diademed head of Emperor.
Reverse, no legend. Victory marching.

FEL. TEMP. REPARATIO. A globe surmounted by a Phœnix, around whose head is a nimbus. In exergue, TR. S.

VICTORIA. DD. NN. AVGG. Two victories holding laurel crowns. In the field, P. On this coin we have both legend and device doubled, shewing the association of the two brothers in the event intended to be recorded.

CONSTANTIUS II.

A.D. 335 to A.D. 361.

F. IVL. CONSTANTIVS. NOB. CAES. Profile bust of Constantius wearing diadem.
FEL. TEMP. REPARATIO. A globe, on which stands a Phœnix, his head surrounded by a nimbus. In the exergue, TR. P. Others, TR. S. in exergue.

GLORIA. EXERCITVS. Two soldiers standing, between them two military standards.

GLORIA. POPVLI. ROMANI. Female figure standing at an altar, holding a patera in right hand, and cornucopia on left arm.

HOC. SIGNO. VICTOR. ERIS. The Emperor in a military habit standing, holding in his right hand the standard of the cross. Victory placing a garland on his head. In field, A. In exergue,

A. SIS. Another, Γ. SIS. This remarkable device shews that the standard of the cross was considered invincible by the Emperors who succeeded Constantine the Great, and as such, used by them.

VICTORIA. AVGG. Victory marching with garland and palm branch. In field, monogram of Christ. In exergue, B. SIS. *

MAGNENTIUS.

A.D. 350 to A.D. 353.

D. N. FL. MAGNENTIVS. P. F. AVG. Profile head of Magnentius.

FEL. TEMP. REPARATIO. Magnentius standing on the deck of a galley, holding a victory and a spear; a winged genius kneeling at his feet. In the field, A. In the exergue, TR. E.

SALVS. D. AVG. ET. CAES. The monogram of Christ between the letters alpha and omega. In the exergue, L. P.

This reverse alludes to his having created his brother Decentius Cæsar, at Milan, A.D. 351.

VICTORIA. AVG. LIB. ROMANOR. Magnentius in a military habit holding the standard of the cross and a laurel branch; a captive kneeling at his feet. In field, N. In the exergue, P. R.

DECENTIUS.

A.D. 351 to A.D. 353.

D. N. DECENTIVS. NOB. CAES. Profile bust of Decentius.

VICTORIA. AVG. Victory, with garland and palm branch, a captive at her feet.

JULIANUS II. (THE APOSTATE.)

A.D. 360 TO A.D. 373.

D. N. IVLIANVS. P. F. AVG. Diademed profile head of Emperor.

SPES. REIPVBLICAE. A military figure standing, holding a globe and spear. In exergue, CONS. A.

VOTA. PUBLICA. Isis and Osiris, their forms terminating in serpents.

VALENTINIANUS.

A.D. 364 TO A.D. 375.

D. N. VALENTINIANVS. P. F. AVG. Profile bust of Valentinian, wearing a diadem.

GLORIA. ROMANORVM. The Emperor standing; in his left hand he holds the labarum, whilst with his right he presses down a kneeling captive. In the field, Q. and K. In exergue, B. SIS. RV. Other reverses have S. CONS. S. MA. T. SIS. P. CON. In exergue, F. R. A., and other letters in the field.

SECVRITAS. REIPVBLICAE. Victory marching with laurel wreath. In exergue, S. CON. Another has OF. II. in field, another has R. R. P. In exergue, SIS. C. S.

VICTORIA. AVGG. A soldier marching; in his right hand he carries the labarum, whilst his left supports a globe. In exergue, S. LVG.

VOTA. PV. B. The Praetorian Camp, beneath the Porta, O.

VOTA. PVBLICA. Isis seated on a dog, holding the sistrum and the hasta.

VALENS.

A.D. 364 TO A.D. 378.

D. N. VALENS. P. F. AVG. Head of Valens, crowned with a diadem.

GLORIA ROMANORVM. A soldier standing; in his left hand the labarum, charged with the monogram of Christ; with his right hand he holds a captive by the neck. In the field, OF. II. Another, OF. I.

Same legend. Victory marching, in her right hand a laurel crown; in her left a palm branch. In exergue, TR. P. Another P. CON.

SECVRITAS. REIPVBLICAE. Victory marching, in her hand a laurel wreath. In exergue, P. CONS.

Others, with Victory holding laurel crown and palm branch OF. I. token letters in field; and SMAQP. in exergued and other letters.

VOT. XX. MVLT. XXX. Within a laurel wreath. This device is very common, with various letters in the exergue.

VOTA PVBLICA. Isis seated, suckling Orus.

GRATIAN.

A.D. 375 TO A.D. 381.

D. N. GRATIANVS. P. F. AVG. Diademed head of Gratian.

GLORIA. ROMANORVM. A soldier walking, and carrying in his left hand the standard of the Cross, whilst he seizes a prostrate captive by the hair with his right. In the field, X P. Another has T. SISC in exergue

D. N. GRATIANVS. AVG. G. AVG. Head as on former coin. Various interpretations have been given to this legend. It is generally supposed to be GRATIANVS. AVGVSTI. GENER. AVGVSTVS. I think a better reading would be Augustorum Augustus. He gave the title of Augustus to Valentinian the younger, and to Pendovius the Great. He may have called himself, as we would translate it, Emperor of the Emperors.

GLORIA. NOVI. SAECVL. A military figure standing, holding the standard of the Cross, and resting his hand upon a shield. Another reverse has OF. III. in field.

REPARATIO. REIPVB. The Emperor bearing a victory in his left hand, is raising a prostrate female, with a crown on her head. In exergue, P. CON. Another has S. in field, and LVG. S. in exergue.

SECVRITAS. REIPVBLICAE. Victory marching. In the exergue, T. CON. Others have P. CON. RT. and other letters.

VOTA. PVBILICA. Isis holding the hasta and a vase.

ABBREVIATIONS ON ROMAN COINS.

As some of our readers may be curious, and wish to understand the apparently cabalistic letters on the coins here described, we have added for their information a list of the usual abbreviations occurring on the coins of the Romans. This, it is hoped, will render the legends and exergual marks and letters more intelligible, and also assist the reader to decipher any coin that may, by chance, come into his possession from this or other Roman stations.

A.A.A.F.F.	Auro Argento Aere Flando Feriundo.
A. or A.N.	Annus.
A.D.V.	Adventus.
AED.	Ædes.
AED.P.	Ædilitia Potestate.
AED.S.	Ædes Sacra.
AED.CVR.	Ædilis Curulis.
AED.PL.	Ædilis Plebis.
AEM.	Æmilius.
AET.	Æternitas.
ANN.AVG.	Annona Augusti.
ANT.	Antonius or Antoninus.
ARAB.ADQ.	Arabia Adquisita.
AVG.	Augus, Augusta or Augustus.
AVG.DF.	Augustus Divi Filius.
AVGG.	Two Augusti.
AVGGG.	Three Augusti.
B or BEAT.	Beatissimus.
B.R.P.NAT.	Bono Republicæ Nato.
C.C.	Caesares.
CENS.P.	Censor Perpetuus.
CONS.SVO.	Conservatori Suo.
CVR.X.F.	Curavit Denarium Faciendum.
D.D.	Decreto Decuriorum.

D.N.	Dominus Noster.
EX.S.C.	Ex Senatus Consulto.
FORT.RED.	Fortuna reduci.
FOR.	Fortissimus.
FVL.	Fulvius.
FVLG.	Fulgerator.
G.	Gneius, Genius.
G.D.	Germanicus Daccius.
GEN.	Genius.
GERM.	Germanicus.
GL.E.R.	Gloria Exercitus Romani.
GL.P.R.	Gloria Populi Romani.
G.P.R.	Genio Populi Romani.
IMP.	Imperator.
IMPP.	Imperatores.
I.S.M.R.	Iuno Sospita Mater Regina.
ITE.	Iterum.
IVL.	Julius or Julia.
IVST.	Justus.
II.VIR.	Duum viri.
III.VIR.R.P.C.	Triumviri Reipublica Constituendæ.
IIII.VIR.A.P.F.	Quatuorvir or Quartuorviri, Auro or Argento, or Aere, Publico Feriundo.
IVN.	Junior.
LEG.I.&c.	Legio Prima.
LIB.PVB.	Libertas Publica.
LIB.	Liberator.
LVC or LVCIP.	Lucifera.
LVD.CIR.	Ludi Circenses.
LVD.EQ.	Ludi Equestres.
LVD.SAEC.F.	Ludi Saculares Fecit.
M.C.	Mater Castrorum.
M.F.	Marci Filius.
MON. or MONET.	Monetæ.
MAR.VLT.	Marti Ultari.
N.C.	Nobilissimus Cæsar.
NEP.RED.	Neptuno Reduci.
NOB.	Nobilissimus.
O.	Optimo.

OB. C. S.	Ob Cives Servatos.
P. or POT.	Potestate.
PART.	Parthicus.
P. F.	Pius Felix or Pii Filius.
P. P.	Pater Patriæ.
P. R.	Populus Romanus.
PRINC. IVVENT.	Princeps Juventutis.
R.	Roma.
P. M.	Pontifex Maximus.
R. P. C.	Rei Publica Constituendæ.
SAEC. FEL.	Sæculi Felicitas.
SARM.	Sarmaticus.
S. C.	Senatus Consulto.
SEC. ORB.	Securitas Orbis.
SEC. PERP.	Securitas Perpetua.
SEC. TEMP.	——— Temporum.
S. M.	Signata Moneta.
S. P. Q. R.	Senatus Populusque Romanus.
TR. MIL.	Tribunes Militares.
TR. P.	Tribunitia Potestate.
VOT. X.	Votis Decenalibus.
MVLT. XX	Multiplicatis. Vicennalibus.
X.	Decem or Denarius.

ABBREVIATIONS IN THE EXERGUE.

A. OFFICINA.	Prima.
ALE.	Alexandria.
AMB.	Antiocheusis Moneta Secundæ Officinæ.
AP. L.	Prima Percussa Lugduni.
AQ. O. B. F.	Aquileiæ Officinæ Secundæ Fabrica.
AQ. S.	Aquileiæ Signata.
A. AR. ARL.	Arelate.
A. SISC.	Prima in Officina Sisciæ.
B. SIRM.	Secunda Sirmii.

CON or CONS.	Constantinopoli.
L. LON.	Londini.
L. P.	Lugdunensis vel Londinensis Pecunia
LVG. P. S.	Lugdun Pecunia Signata.
M. L.	Moneta Londinensis vel Lugdunensis
M. O. S. TT.	Moneta Officinæ Secundæ Trevero-rum.
M. S. TR.	Moneta Signata Treveris.
PARL.	Percussa or Pecunia Arelate.
P. LON.	Pecunia Londinensis.
P: LVG.	Pecunia Lugdunensis.
P. R.	Pecunia Roma or Percussa Roma.
P. T.	Pecunia Treverensis.
R. RO. ROM.	Roma.
ROPS.	Romæ Pecunia Signata.
SIS.	Sisciæ.
SS. P.	Sisciensis Pecunia.
SISC. V.	Siscia Urbis.
SMA.	Signata Moneta Antiochiæ
S. M. N.	Signata Moneta Nicomediæ.
S. M. R.	Signeta Moneta Romæ.
S. T.	Signata Treveris.
TESOB.	Tessalonicæ Officina Secunda.
TR.	Treveris.
TROB.	Treveris Officina Secunda.

J. O. SANDFORD, PRINTER, HIGH STREET, SHREWSBURY

00082176

Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 18 July, 2018